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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

THE LANGUAGE OF HOME AND THE HOME OF LANGUAGE: Pedagogical Considerations for ESL Practice

by

Anne Winning

A THESIS

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ABSTRACT

The focus of this study is the exploration of the relation between language and home, in the context of immigration to a country where one has to learn to speak English as a second language. The need for a feeling of being at home has been explored as a further consideration when discussing the needs of immigrants in the context of ESL programs. Reflection on the dominant approach taken to ESL curriculum has formed the ground for the question of the research: To what extent does home have a language and language give a sense of home? That is, what is the lived meaning of the language of home and the home of language?

Since language is a human way of knowing the world, it would appear that learning a new language is an integral dimension of becoming at home in a new country. The major thesis of the study is that there is a "languagely" way of being in the world which is lost when one leaves one's home country and home language.

The present research uses a hermeneutic phenomenological approach. The study involved thirty-five immigrants to Canada. Through research conversations the people describe their experiences of living in a new country and a new language environment. On the basis of the conversations, themes are disclosed. The themes consider the relationship between language and identity, learning a language and making a home, the intimacy of the human way of being with one's first language, and the way in which the language of home means more than a linguistic code. The discussion of the themes has been structured according to five generative, everyday questions: Where do you come from? What are you doing here? How long have you been here? Do you like it here? Can I stay here? The reflective interweaving of the thematic stuctures that make up the experience of home is performed on the basis of insights gleaned from the participants' descriptions, as well as from phenomenological literature, poetry and novels.

The thrust of the work is to deepen our understanding of the experience of language learning for immigrants. The work is an invitation to reflection on the significance of the relation of home and language and how this may be embedded in practice.

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CHAPTER ONE

ARRIVING AT THE QUESTION

Orienting to the Question

Ling was a member of my class of twelve adult students who had come to the school to learn English. I asked her a question pertaining to the language point I was teaching at that moment. She struggled with her answer momentarily and then broke down in tears. I was taken aback, as were the other students. Ling sobbed for a few minutes as I tried to assure her that I would help her with her work at lunch time and asked her if she would like to leave the room. She shook her head and said, "I just am so unhappy. I miss my home." The other ten foreign students expressed a reaction such as "Ah" and nodded their heads in understanding. I agreed that it's sometimes a terrible feeling to be so far from home and proceeded to tell the class how often I had cried when I first moved to Australia. Later, at the coffee break, I stayed with Ling and we spoke about being away from home, sharing our experiences.

Reflecting on the reactions of the students to Ling's reference to missing home, I wondered how it was that we could all have a "nodding" understanding of Ling's feelings. And what was it about home that she was missing? Did she mean the home country? Or was she acutely missing the people of home? Could it simply have been her own house that she was missing? Or, since she was in the middle of the stressful experience of language learning, could it have been the language of her home that she missed? Some philosophers (cf. Heidegger, 1962; Merleau-Ponty, 1973) have referred to language as our dwelling place or home. So, could Ling have missed, in a deeper sense, the "home" of language? There are many questions concerning missing home which at the time no-one in the class considered. We all felt we knew what Ling meant.

During the discussion that ensued as a result of Ling's tears, some class members said that they didn't get homesick, however everybody seemed to have an understanding of the phenomenon to which she referred. What is it about the meaning of home in our lives that enables such an immediate understanding of a person's homesickness, despite whether or not one had experienced homesickness oneself? What is the significance of home if its absence can make people so vulnerable to distress? Is the meaning of home important enough for consideration in the context of teaching language to immigrants?

This study emerges from my own life experiences, both professional and personal. Professionally, as a teacher of English as a second language, I have an abiding concern for the people who come to me to learn English. In observing my students struggle with the necessary adaptations, I have pondered what it must be like for them to live in a foreign language environment.

My involvement with this question has been influenced by my own personal experience as a learner of a language while living in that language's environment. I have also had to move countries on four occasions and therefore have some first hand experience of immigration. In reflecting on the estrangement I felt while in these situations, I could not help but wonder about the extent of this estrangement for people who immigrate to a country where they don't speak the language.

I have watched the faces of people as they stand in endless queues at airport immigration counters; there is bewilderment and apprehension concerning their new situation. Home is so far away. I have seen their despair as they try to understand the occasionally officious, unsympathetic authorities they encounter as they hand over their screed of meaningless papers. Understanding is so far away.

The question of the difficulties that immigrants may encounter as they try to find a "home" as a place to live confronted me through an experience at the language school where I worked. Some students wanted to find an apartment to rent and asked me to help them consult the classified advertisements of the newspaper. The places listed phone numbers so I agreed to telephone some of the numbers for them. Then I was told that the policy of the school did not allow teachers to use the phone on behalf of the students. (It is possibly significant to note here that in Australia local telephone calls are not free.) The "educational rationale" for discouraging teachers from using the telephone on behalf of the students was that it is better for their language learning to attempt such realistic "communicative competencies" by themselves. But is this educative rationale grounded in the lived experience of using the telephone when not at all competent at using the language? No, it is grounded in the language learning research that has shown that students learn language more effectively by using it in real-life contexts. However, this view discounts the lived fear of using the telephone to speak a language with which one is not familiar.

I lived in Sweden and participated in language classes along with immigrants, however, learning the language was for me more of an interest than a necessity. How different for those who immigrate to a country where they do not speak the language? For me the experience was fun, it did not really matter how much I learned because I was only there for a short time. It was an occasion to merely add to my repertoire of linguistic capabilities. However, for the others it was imperative that they learn the language as soon as possible in order to obtain employment and come to feel more at ease while travelling on the buses or doing their shopping.

On several occasions during my six-month stay in Sweden I experienced the "outsider-ness" of not knowing the language I heard all around me: not knowing the labels on the items in the supermarket resulted in buying cheese which I thought was butter, sitting in the bus and listening to people talk and laugh but being unable to understand their words, going to my usual bus-stop to find a notice which I couldn't read and realizing that for some reason there was a change but I didn't know what it was. On many occasions I was reminded of being a stranger in Sweden. My experience of feeling like a stranger has something in common with the experience of immigrants, however Schutz (1971) has indicated that there is something essentially different from the experience of travellers and that of immigrants. Schutz speaks of the different experience that a country has for the traveller where everything new is experienced with a sense of interested distance, however for the person who must try to become a member of the community the difference is not experienced as distance but as strangeness. Strangeness has been described by Bollnow:

> Strangeness is the area where man no longer knows his way around and where he therefore feels helpless... he is outside the trusted area, in a hostile world, and the feeling of strangeness can overpower him. We all recognize the feeling of inexpressible homesickness. (Bollnow, 1961, p. 35)

The lived experience of homesickness is possibly universal, an illness for people who have left their own country. Homesickness involves leaving home, missing friends and relatives as well as missing the familiarity of home and the sense of belonging. Yet is there something still more fundamental about it? Perhaps the meaning of homesickness could speak to the fundamental meaning of home to the human condition.

I have moved countries several times in my life. I have had to deal with homesickness, getting used to new accents, new expressions, learning different norms and patterns of behaviour. This I have experienced as an immigrant, but not to a country where I did not speak the language. Language is an aspect of home and familiarity. Is learning a new language part of "making" a new home?

Teachers of immigrants know they are working with people who have undergone a tremendous upheaval in their lives and in some cases the choice to leave their home country may not have been theirs. But how much do we know of the lived experience of leaving home and of trying to make a new home in a new place?

As a human science research approach, hermeneutic phenomenology begins from a questioning of the taken-for-granted attitude found in our understanding of particular human phenomena. Moreover, it involves a sense of commitment on the part of the researcher. It involves being interested, *inter-esse*, standing in the midst of the question (Van Manen, 1984a). One must be wholly in tune with the question in that it involves one with a committed sense of wonder. It involves a deep questioning of what it means to be or do something, an aspect of human existence. A corollary of this is that it necessarily becomes one's project; it is the *pro-jection* of one who becomes integrated with the nature of the phenomenological project, the question. The question arises from the particular individual, social or historical context of a person who has an abiding concern with revealing deeper understanding of a certain aspect of the human condition.

Phenomenologists should have had real-life experience of the phenomenon they study:

> They must know the importance of having had real life experiences, of being experienced, of standing in the middle of life, of having a sense of practical wisdom that comes from working and living with those in whose lives they have pedagogical interest. All understanding is ultimately self understanding. (Van Manen, 1984b, p. 18)

One's own life experiences are understood with an immediacy which is not possible for the understanding of the experience of others. Nevertheless, it is possible to recognize in one's own experience the possible experience of others, the existential quality of the experience. Thus, it is valid to draw on these experiences to orient to the phenomenon in a reflective manner and to recognize in the experience of others the possible experience of oneself. A phenomenological description is always one of a possible human experience. My own experiences have oriented me to the present question and I may find in my own reflections an incident that illuminates or is illuminated by the descriptions of others. There is the possibility for deepening inter-subjective understandings.

My question has arisen from aspects of my life, both personal and professional. My commitment comes from my own life history. It is personal in that I have an interest in the meaning of home in my life; it is professional and social in that I wish to disclose the lived significance of leaving home and language in order that a deeper understanding of the experience of immigration be reached. It may lead to a more sensitive awareness of immigrant "needs" and a more tactful approach being taken towards immigrants and their language education. My question grew from these considerations as I dwelt on the situation of immigrants, observed their difficulties in asking help from bus drivers, and listened to them in my classes while they spoke of their home country. Such life experiences and questions have influenced the nature of the question of this study: What is the lived experience of home and the language of home?

Explicating Presuppositions

To focus on the question of the lived experience of transitions of homeness entails laying open the question regarding the pre-conceived notions of home and becoming "at home" in order to see the event in a new way. Phenomenology involves "looking naively, with a sense of wonder, at events and asking questions that usually aren't asked because of their simplicity" (Barrit et al, 1983, p. 2).

A problem with an investigation is not that we may know too little, but that we already know too much; understandings may get in the way of our remaining open to a question. Therefore we must address the beliefs or biases which may be brought to the interpretation or reflection of the phenomenon being investigated. By doing this, we do not simply try to ignore the previous "knowledge," but instead we can use it "against itself, as it were, thereby exposing its shallow or concealing character" (Van Manen, 1984a, p. 46). Spradley and McCurdy (1972) also acknowledge this problem, advocating that the researcher,

> begins with a clear recognition that complete objectivity is impossible... and that selective observation and interpretation always occur during research. (p. 18)

Perhaps there is more to the need to learn the language than purely functional considerations? The needs of language learners are not usually referred to in terms of the need to make a new home; other needs are constantly considered.

Much of the talk about the needs of language students is couched in terms of functions of language (cf. Wilkins, 1976; Van Ek, 1976; Munby, 1978). Moreover, there is talk of the need for the language learner to be "the central figure in any language teaching theory" (Stern, 1983, p. 360). Learner factors such as personality type, motivation, age, language aptitude and cognitive factors, are mentioned in texts dealing with second language teaching (cf. Stern, 1983; Rivers, 1983; Richards & Rodgers, 1986; Long & Richards, 1987; Krashen, 1981). But what is missing in these references is an understanding of the need of second language learners to try to make themselves at home in both the new country and the new language. Nevertheless, language teachers are aware of some of the cultural problems that immigrants may encounter.

Some text books and journal articles (cf. Irons, 1988; Valdes, 1986; Stern, 1983; Rivers, 1983; Burns, 1971; Tsatos, 1971) speak to the need for second language teachers to be sensitive to the cultural problems which are encountered by immigrants. The phrase "culture shock", coined by Alvin Toffler (1970), is commonly spoken about as being the result of difficulty with all the new ways of life which have to be learned and the effect of missing one's home, family and friends. It is given as one cause for poor achievement in language learning:

> [N]ew Canadians who experience great difficulty in learning English because of culture shock often will not speak English in public unless absolutely necessary... new Canadians whose initial efforts to learn English have been frustrated because of culture shock may

> never be assimilated into the Canadian culture... and may remain aliens for the rest of their lives. (Burns, 1971, p. 20)

Common-sense knowledge tells us that immigrants have to face many difficulties: differences in habits of everyday life, leaving home and family, and learning a language all over again. Yet, common-sense knowledge does not speak of the meaning of home in our lives. What is it that can be so acutely missed and what is the meaning of the resultant homesickness? Can immigrants ever feel at home in their second country? Is the sense of home-ness the same or different? How can a new country be a "kind of home" but not yet home? The questions concerning the meaning of home are questions concerning our way of being-in-the-world. Many immigrants I spoke to mentioned the need to "make a home here." How does one go about "making" a new home? Home is often something we just *have* if we have never left home to live elsewhere. What aspects of home can people make or re-make? Perhaps the need to make a home is one need about which there should be a deeper understanding. Questioning "home" may speak to a need which is not often addressed, either in the consideration about language teaching and learning or in the context of the lives of immigrants for whom we have pedagogical and humanistic responsibilities.

The Nature of the Question

What is the nature of home and the language of home? There are a number of subsuming questions concerning the experience of being an immigrant, adapting to a new place and a new language. For example: Is there a sense of loss of home? Is it really possible to feel at home in the new culture and maintain the sense of home for the first culture? Does the new home ever replace the first home? Does the new language ever serve the same purposes as the mother-tongue? These are questions which are oriented to meaning; questions of meaning which are associated with our use of terms such as "mother-tongue" and "father-land". Not only are these questions unaddressed in the research literature, the complexity of the problem underlying these questions is confounded by the seemingly different experiences described by people in discussions about their lives in the new country. The following stories are excerpts from conversations I have had with immigrants and those contemplating permanent residence in a country other than their own:

> Jason
> Sometimes at first I'd wake up in the morning and not want to get out of bed because I had no-one to do anything with. But then I got to know some people and then it was different. It's different if you wake up and you know you're going to share something that day with someone you like a lot.
>
> Maciej
> It's a kind of home here but it's not somewhere I'm really attached to. It wouldn't hurt me to leave here. But now I've been here long enough that I know if I go home to Poland there will be things that I'd miss about Canada. Here I miss speaking Polish and having political discussions with my friends. But if I could go back I'd miss speaking English and I'd miss western culture movies. It's a paradox, whatever I do I'll regret.
>
> Manjie
> When I first came here I used to cry a lot. I really missed my mother. But then we got so busy building our lives here; working hard and trying to build a house here. We got so busy with our own life that I didn't have time to be homesick. And then the children were born and so now this is really their home and I don't know if I could return to India now. Home is where you live and where your kids are. I've been back to India twice. The first time was after just one year in Canada and that time I wanted to stay there. But this time when I went back [after 17 years in Canada] I felt like a visitor there. I guess I have two homes. This is the home that you build and that is the home from birth.

What is the meaning of "building a new home"? In what way does the home one builds differ from the home of one's birth? If it becomes difficult to return to the original home, what aspects of that home have been lost?

The question of this dissertation is one of meaning, what it means to make the transition from one sense of homeness to another. Rather than merely acknowledge the phenomenon called "culture shock", we must wonder about the meaning of home to the human condition. Rather than simply accept that immigrants must learn to speak English, we should be attuned to the role that language may have in the transformation to a new familiarity. Phenomenological research aims to disclose the meaning of that transformative experience:

> The phenomenological world is not pure being, but the sense which is revealed where the paths of my various experiences intersect, and also where my own and other people's intersect and engage each other like gears. (Merleau-Ponty, 1962, p. xx)

In order to gain a deeper understanding of the meaning of any experience of the human condition we must turn to lived experience. It is necessary to talk to people, to listen to their voices as they describe their initial and later experiences. As a researcher, I can draw on my own understanding of the experience of transitions which I made in becoming more at home in my adoptive "home" country.

Exploring the Phenomenon

How to trace the meaning of home and the language of home? The question is one of lived experience. It is to lived experience that the method must address itself. The interests, goals and knowledge sought from the present question are different from those sought in other domains of inquiry. The approach must begin not in the abstract realm of theories and concepts, but in the life-world, the pre-reflective world of life-as-lived.

There are a number of approaches to doing phenomenological research (Van Manen, 1984a; 1984b; Barrit, Beekman, Bleeker & Mulderij, 1984; Giorgi, 1985). It is the work of van Manen which is particularly applicable to the concerns of this study. The methodology outlined here is based on his work, particularly *Practicing Phenomenological Writing* (1984) and *Researching Lived Experience* (1989).

My approach to this study involved talking to people. The meetings could be called interviews in that they were often pre-arranged for the purpose of the study. Yet, to use the word "interview" does not quite capture the conversational tone of the meetings. An interview is usually more one-sided than a conversation and it has more clearly defined roles; the interviewer is there to ask questions of the interviewee. An interview has less fluidity and less exchange or sharing of ideas than does a conversation.

Nevertheless, the conversations engaged in for the purpose of a study differ from ordinary conversations. They are not entirely open-ended conversations in that there is a specific topic and purpose to the talk. The conversation is directed toward a search, or re-search, of a question. A research conversation is one which Gadamer would call a "true" conversation:

> To conduct a conversation requires first of all that the partners to it do not talk at cross purposes. Hence its necessary structure is that of question and answer... Dialectic, as the art of asking questions, proves itself only because the person who knows how to ask questions is able to preserve his orientation towards openness... The first condition of the art of conversation is to ensure that the other person is with us... To conduct a conversation means to allow oneself to be conducted by the object to which the partners in the conversaton are directed. (Gadamer, 1989, p. 367)

In a true conversation what is to be understood, in this case the meaning of home, is what guides the conversation. And understanding is achieved through a dialogical encounter with the other person:

> What emerges in [a conversation, a dialectic of question and answer] is the logos, which is neither mine nor yours and hence so far transcends the subjective opinions of the partners to the dialogue that even the person leading the conversation knows that he does not know. (Gadamer, 1989, p. 368)

Thus, a conversation is more than a means of communicating meaning. Rather, it is a meaning-making and meaning-revealing activity.

As people are engaged in conversation, reflecting upon and re-living the events of their lives, they tell stories of their lives: "Stories are not an optional extra of everyday conversation but rather conversation is inconceivable without them" (Rosen, 1985, p. 25). Telling stories renders life experiences accessible in relevant and meaningful ways (Connelly and Clandinin, 1990, p. 10), and stories lend particularity to life experiences. So in this study the stories told became the foundation for the inquiry into the lived experience of home. One possible criticism of the use of personal stories in reseach is that the outcome rendered is not a sufficient argument or an empirical generalization. However, generalization is not the aim of phenomenological research. Additionally, there is no argument or generalization that is not rooted in concrete experience and does not use a form of narrative discourse to justify its claims:

> Inside every non-narrative discourse there stalk the ghosts of narrative and inside every narrative there stalk the ghosts of non-narrative discourse. There are always stories crying to be let out and meanings crying to be let in. (Rosen, 1985, p. 12)

Every story that is told is an invitation to its readers to probe its text. Moreover, it reads the reader and thus, rather than being a purely subjective account on behalf of the story-teller, the story becomes an independent object open to inquiry (Novak, 1975).

In acknowledging that stories have been the foundation of the inquiry, it must also be acknowledged that some stories have been left out. As people tell the stories of their experience they choose what to say and what not to say. Nevertheless, they choose what is meaningful to their life in its present context. And it is to *meaningful* experience that a phenomenological study is addressed. The story of one's life is continually being read and re-read and so the "truth" of meaning is contextual and temporal. Further, as the researcher, I chose what to re-tell and what not to re-tell. But the guiding concern in the re-telling of the stories has been to render meaning to the lived experience of home. Although this has meant *inventing* "beginnings and ends for out there are no such things" (Rosen, 1985, p. 13), it has been a necessary axiom of placing the question within its boundaries.

Personal Experience

Recently a friend from my home city of Brisbane came to visit me in Canada. We spent some weeks together travelling around visiting places in North America. Until the time he joined me he had been travelling alone. We commented to each other how nice it was to be able to "talk Australian!" What we both found so relaxing and comfortable was being able to use our own words and expressions without getting blank stares from people. We spoke of getting "petrol" for the car, putting the shopping in the "boot" and putting on our "jumpers!" The comfort and feeling of homeness seems to have been associated with the words of home. How much of "home" is in the words themselves? Is there a "languagely" way of being-in-the-world that is lost to immigrants, especially to those who have to learn a new language and may be unable to converse with others in their native tongue?

Descriptions from others

In this study, descriptions from others have been used to disclose themes. Anecdotes are significant to the study. They form the foundation from which interpretations have been drawn. However, not all the material used in this study is of an anecdotal nature. In listening to the stories of immigrants I found that there were many utterances made which held meaning. The *sense* of their stories came through single words, phrases and sentences, as well as sighs, pauses and unuttered closures to sentences. It seems that sometimes we can perceive the sense of an utterance without necessarily paying attention to the meaning of individual words (Bain, 1990). There is something like a primary mode of perception which is possible when we are attuned to the meaning of a partner's conversational direction.

Descriptions of the meaning of home can be gleaned from many other sources such as literature, film, idiomatic phrases, etymological sources and songs. I found novels, poetry and songs that informed the work. The meaning of home has been a feature of literature for many years, the significance of home being referred to as far back as Biblical times.

There are indications of our lived experience of phenomena in the words that we use in talking about things. We often speak of "my second home." What is the lived experience of a second home. What makes it different to a first home?

Etymology offers a way to retrieve forgotten meanings of words. The origin of words provides clues to uncovering meaning. For example, being "in limbo" is a theme associated with homesickness. I found that it means being on the fringe, it refers to a place for people or things that have been forgotten. It is also used to refer to the region on the border of hell. Such etymological tracing may give some insight into the experience of homesickness.

The importance of the work already done by other academics must not be by-passed. For example, Heidegger (1962, 1964, 1971), Merleau-Ponty (1962, 1964, 1973) and Gadamer (1989) have looked at language from a phenomenological perspective and there are indications in their work of how to interpret certain themes. Their work has provided stimulus for dialogue in reference to the themes which emerged from the study.

In addition, the experience of the researcher is a valid source of information and this can be attended to in conjunction with descriptions obtained from others. There are no distinct phases of data collection separated from the interpretive phase. Rather, it is an ongoing process whereby the exploratory stage and the interpretive stage are interwoven. The researcher must remain open to any new possibilities that may emerge from located material; that is, the researcher must be alert to the way in which any material found may "speak" to the significance of the phenomenon.

The conversations

To explore the experience of home beyond my own understanding I obtained descriptions from immigrants. The total number of individuals interviewed formally was thirty-five (although the study also contains and reflects material gained in more informal and incidental settings). Some I spoke to only on one occasion but many on two, three or more occasions. The length of time that people had lived away from their native country ranged from one month to thirty years. In the main, I talked to adult immigrants about their experiences of adapting to a new country where they do not speak the language, but I also spoke to some people for whom the English language was not new. By speaking to English speakers who had left their home country I found that there were "languagely" aspects of home which had nothing to do with the sign system of speech.

The participants in the study are introduced to the reader throughout the interpretive chapters by way of a footnote when the first reference is made to that person's story.

When I first started to consider this study I wondered where I would find the people to talk with about the experience of immigration. But the data gathering turned out not to be a problem at all. In many ways, the doing of the study rarely left me. Although on many occasions I had organized a particular time and meeting place to talk with someone to do my study, sometimes I found myself in the midst of discussing the topic at parties and on hiking trips. I would go out for a social evening or week-end hiking in the Rocky Mountains and then find that at the same time I was involved in my research. My notebook was with me at all times.

Since many people I mix with here in Canada are from other countries I found that to talk of home was a very natural thing. When one hears an accent, one inevitably asks, "Where do you come from?" And so the conversation would quite naturally turn to the very question of this dissertation. I recall being out to dinner with a friend and a friend of his from Germany whom I had never met. Thomas and I got talking about what it is like to speak another language all the time when in a foreign country. My friend, who knew the topic of my dissertation, intervened saying, "Hey, we're out for dinner. Stop working!"

People like to talk about home when they realize that they are being listened to. And whenever a group of people from other countries get together, they inevitably discuss the experience of the new country. Generative, everyday questions have been used to structure the study: "Where do you come from?" "What are you doing here?" "How long have you been here?" "Do you like it here?" "Can I stay here?" The questions are natural and inevitable questions where one finds immigrants or travellers. I found that asking the everyday questions around which the study is organized was the best way to initiate a conversation about the immigration experience and to get the experiential descriptions, stories and anecdotes that are the best material for this interpretive type of study. After initiating the discussion I sometimes asked people to be more specific about what they were referring to, asking them to give examples of their experience. In this way the conversation would evolve. Sometimes I would be a partner in the discussion, both of us talking about what we missed of home and the language from home, what we disliked about Canada (which was always the winter weather!), or the stunning beauty of the Rockies and how that would be what we missed about Canada if we were to leave.

A possible limitation of the study is that the interviews were conducted in English, the language with which people were not at home. Consequently, people may have been unable to express exactly what they would like to have said in quite the way they would be able to in their own language. Yet, I feel confident that the *meaning* of their stories was available to me. On one occasion I spoke to two Polish ladies, Marie and Iza, together. Iza had very little knowledge of English and Marie interpreted for her. This conversation contained much more elaborate language than was generally the case where the immigrant spoke English to me. Nevertheless, I am certain that the lived experience of immigration and learning another language was disclosed just as effectively through the sentences which may have been grammatically incorrect. After all, the meaning of language is not in the structure of grammar. Additionally, the fact of the conversations being conducted in English may also have served to recall the experience of home and language more vividly. In the act of speaking in the language which was not the language of home, there may have been the possibility of recalling the experience of being "away from home" more concretely. It is usually the case that we see home more clearly when we are away from home. So perhaps what may look like a limitation of the study may possess positive features in that it has the propensity to make "home" stand out more clearly.

Conducting Thematic Analysis

The themes of a phenomenological study are not conceptual categories, rather they are like "knots in the web of our experience around which certain experiences are spun" (van Manen 1984b, p. 29). This perspective is upheld by Roche (1973, p. 316) who says that,

> the humanistic approach [in research] calls for maximum attention to and descriptions of social phenomena *for their own sakes*, not for the sake of some abstract and general theoretical comprehension.

As such, a thematic phrase does not pretend to account for the fullness of the lived experience of home but only purports to allude to it, indicating that going beyond the one aspect there are other perspectives, other ways of living the phenomenon.

Uncovering thematic aspects in life-world descriptions

At the hand of obtained descriptions and transcriptions I articulated themes, that is the thematic structures that make up the experience of home. This was done in a systematic way. Initial identification of thematic possibilities were practised on the transcribed conversations. Further discussions served to indicate other paths of exploration and reflection. Themes were recorded by isolating thematic statements that evoked the descriptions, using the language of the participants. New themes were added and others discarded as the understanding deepened. The procedure of exploration, interpretation, verification, and renewed exploration continued in a cyclic fashion, or more precisely in a "to-ing" and "fro-ing" among the various aspects. The phases do not follow one another in a linear fashion. It is a practice in thoughtfulness, coming to the material again and again in order to disclose new ways of seeing and understanding:

> Understanding is an adventure and, like any other adventure, is dangerous. Just because it is not satisfied with simply wanting to register what is there or said there but goes back to our guiding interests and questions, one has to concede that the hermeneutical experience has a far less degree of certainty than that attained by the methods of the natural sciences. But when one realizes that understanding is an adventure, this implies that it affords unique opportunities as well. It is capable of contributing in a special way to the broadening of our horizon, for everything understanding mediates, is mediated along with ourselves. (Gadamer, 1983, pp. 109,110)

Writing and Re-writing

In phenomenological research the writing is the *modus operandi* of the research task:

> Writing involves a textual reflection in the sense of separating and confronting ourselves with what we know, distancing ourselves from the life-world, decontextualizing our thoughtful preoccupations from immediate action, abstracting and objectifying our lived understandings from our concrete involvements... and all this for the sake of now reuniting us with what we know, drawing us more closely to living relations and situations of the life world, turning thought to a more tactful praxis, and concretizing and subjectifying our deepened understanding in practical action. (van Manen, 1989a, p. 124)

The task of the writing is to be attentive to language in such a way that the spaces between the words can be heard as it were; to allow the language to speak for itself thus revealing that which is usually outside the normal range of hearing. The writing and re-writing becomes the quest for the authenticity of the way-of-being of the phenomenon itself.

Throughout the writing, concrete examples have been used to illuminate the experience, to evoke the meaning. The writing aims to point to, to throw light on the experience; it does not aim to grasp it in its entirety and contain it in any self-delineating concepts. The use of anecdotes as a source of lived experience and as an indication of life-world themes is suggested by van Manen (1989b). In providing concrete examples they counter the weight of heavy theorizing; they illuminate the relation between living and thinking and they may have a significance of an exemplary character (pp. 246, 277). Throughout the study I have used anecdotes and utterances for their iconic value, to serve the purpose of keeping the particularity of the phenomenon in view.

I have transcribed and reproduced the conversations as closely as possible to the original way in which they were taped. I made alterations to the original only where there was the possibility of misunderstanding due to grammatical errors or due to the nature of the difference between spoken and written expression. The stories still contain various rhetorical and grammatical errors which reflect the nature of the person talking.

I have chosen to keep the citations in the same typeface as the remainder of the text. I did this because I feel that the words of the participant are an integral part of the total text and I did not want to make a distinction through the devices of italics or indentations and spacing for the citations.

The structuring of the writing has been arranged thematically, with the existentials of spatiality (lived space), temporality (lived time), relationality (lived social relations), and corporeality (lived body), woven through the descriptions. The four fundamental existentials may be considered to be foundational dimensions by which each human being experiences the world. The four categories have been considered in the phenomenological literature to belong to the basic structure of the lifeworld (cf. Merleau-Ponty, 1962).

Each chapter addresses one of the generative, everyday questions that form the structure of the study: Where do you come from?; What are you doing here?; How long have you been here?; Do you like it here?; Can I stay here? Each chapter begins with a conceptual discussion of the generative question. The discussion is followed by a number of anecdotal thematic statements which capture the essence of the anecdote or story being interpreted. The meaning of the anecdotes is explored and discussed before arriving at the main thematic statement, a theme which seems to reflect the meaning of the foregoing anecdotes. Following a brief discussion of the logic of the main theme is an exploration of what the theme implies for the pedagogy of second language teaching. For example, the first theme, *Home is a source of identity*, implies that pedagogy be attentive to the life story of the individuals in ESL classes. ESL teachers are not merely teaching one code of language which can replace the first code. Rather, learning a language is a form of cultural and personal empowerment (Freire, 1987). Each chapter ends with a transition paragraph to the next generative question of the following chapter.

It is hoped that the everyday understanding of home and making oneself at home in a new country has been extended through the present study. The study has aimed to push awareness of the lived significance of home beyond the confines of the "natural attitude" (Schutz, 1973) and provoke greater thoughtfulness and reflection.

In order to situate the significance of the pedagogic understandings of the present study, it is important to overview the previous and current approaches to the teaching of English as a second language. What has been and is now deemed important to the domain is relevant to our understanding of what may have been overlooked in approaches to the curriculum of English as a second language. The following chapter gives an historical perspective of the domain.

CHAPTER TWO

APPROACHES TO THE NEEDS OF LANGUAGE LEARNERS

An Historical Perspective

> True philosophy consists in learning to look at the world, and in this sense a historical account can give meaning to the world quite as deeply as a philosophical treatise. (Merleau-Ponty, 1962, p. xx)

To trace our understanding of the relationship between home and the language of home, it is important to look at where we are in our recognition of the importance of "home" for immigrant language learners by considering where we have been.

There are many views of language: linguistic, psychological, sociological, philosophical, and views which borrow aspects from each of these. There are also varying educational opinions about the best way to teach a new language, however these opinions have mainly been informed by the disciplines of psychology and linguistics. As Strevens (1987, p. 10) has suggested, the dependence on these domains has grown out of the assumption that psycholinguistic research is not only directly relevant to language teaching, but that it is the "most relevant." Moreover, it has been suggested by Richards (1984) that the actual practices that are employed in the classrooms, the methods which are adopted, are less a consequence of the content or the theories of language learning than they are of the "form that a method takes and the support and promotion that it receives" (p. 7).

An historical account of this development will illuminate the changes that have occurred in attitudes and approaches to immigration and the educational "needs" of immigrants. However, it will also indicate that there remain several unanswered questions regarding the significance of "home", the language of home and the transitions which immigrants undergo when they make the move from their home country and home language.

The preoccupation with technique, which is manifest in much of the inquiry into language learning, has tended to reify language as an object. Consequently, the meaning of language as lived has largely become an unquestioned aspect of existence:

> Questions can indeed be total; but answers, in their positive significance, cannot. Like a passion that one day just ceases, destroyed by its own duration, a question burns out and is replaced by an unquestioned state of affairs. (Merleau-Ponty, 1964, pp. 3,4)

What is required is a question not an answer; "the essence of the question is to open up possiblities and keep them open" (Gadamer, 1989, p. 299).

In order to understand this study's response to the question of home, it is important to consider the historical context. A discussion of the development of the second language domain reveals changes which have occurred in the recognition of the importance of home country and home language. Such changes have taken place not only in language teaching methods but also in government policies.

This section will outline the development of the second language teaching domain by first looking at the notion of language learning as a purely linguistic concern. The next development in perspective is the one which considers language as communicative competence. At this time there was more consideration of what had been learned in sociolinguistics and ethnology regarding the role of language in an understanding of the world. Finally, the need for deeper questioning is discussed. The cry for heritage language programs from some sectors of the native and immigrant populations is considered. It raises a question regarding the meaning of home and the way in which "home" as country is linked with "home" as language.

The Linguistic Approach

The influence of government policies

After World War II, which resulted in a huge influx into Canada of people of non-English speaking backgrounds, there was some provision of language courses for immigrants. The courses however, were restricted to being only short courses for adults and they concentrated on essential "survival" language. Children were expected to "pick up" the language by being submerged in it in schools (Ashworth, 1976). The way in which language needs were dealt with not only reflected scant consideration of language theories, it also reflected the existing government policy of "assimilation." The assimilation policy meant that immigrants were expected to forgo any outward retention of the culture of their first home in order to be absorbed into the host culture: "Assimilation into the Canadian version of British culture was the only hope offered to the immigrant [who was searching for employment]" (Bhatnagar, 1981, p. 29).

With the advent of the 1960's and the first waves of immigration from Vietnam there emerged a new government policy of integration. The policy of integration recognized that immigrants had the right to maintain their own culture, and that they had the right to play a more significant role in politics and decision making. As a result, there was a more concerted effort in Canada to teach English to immigrants and their children:

> Fluency in English is the key to employment and integration. The chances of an immigrant finishing up on UIC or hospitalized with a mental breakdown are increased if denied the opportunity to learn

English. (Ashworth, 1976, p. 168)

With the emphasis on the need to teach the language, educators turned to the disciplines of linguistics and psychology for help in achieving the goal of improving language learning (Rivers, 1983, p. 1).

The influence of psychology and linguistics

During the 1920's and 1930's behavioural psychologists concentrated on aspects of behaviour which could be described and measured objectively, much attention being directed towards how habits are formed. Research concerned itself with applying the work of Thorndike (1921) and the principle of reinforcement theory. Since language was regarded as a behaviour similar to other habits, it was assumed that it was learned in the same way. While psychologists were elaborating this model of learning, structural linguists were studying phonological and grammatical patterning by analyzing recurring surface forms of language, thereby neglecting the area of semantics. Bloomfield (1933) was an influential person in this area, stating that "the student of language is concerned only with actual speech" (p. 74).

The audio-lingual method

The information developed by the structural linguists was compatible with the theory of learning developed by the behavioural psychologists. The information from both sciences thus combined to form the early structural approach which was defined principally in terms of vocabulary and grammar. The structural approach was popular until the early 1950's when the influence of war-time language teaching reached language schools.

During the war, linguistic scholars were given a leading role in the development of a way to overcome the need for language interpreters required for the war effort. As language teachers, the structural linguists developed a language learning method which emphasized the overt patterned structure of language and utilized the reinforcement theory of response to stimuli (Rivers, 1983, p. 3). The combination of habit-forming techniques became known as the audio-lingual method, which although hailed as a new development nevertheless largely embodied the structural approach (Richards, 1984 p. 8). The notion that learning a language entailed little of significance other than learning vocabulary and grammar is implicit to the audio-lingual method. Nevertheless, it emphasized the primacy of speech more than was the case in the structuralist approach and was enthusiastically embraced because it "provided students with useful building blocks of language material" (Rivers, 1983, p.4).

Cognitive code method

In 1965 Chomsky's theory of "rule-governed" behaviour altered the focus of linguistics. He rejected the notion that language is learned through habit formation and proposed that the rules of the grammar of the language are internalized by people as they are surrounded by that language (Chomsky, 1965, pp. 25-26). Chomsky's assertation was that a person's "competence" in his or her first language is a result of internalized knowledge of the grammar of that language. Thus, he distinguished language competence from language "performance," which Chomsky proposed as the language in use. He claimed that language is innate and that the surrounding language does little more than trigger the linguistic universals contained in the "language acquisition device." Consequently, there was a movement in language teaching which advocated the return to more formal teaching of grammar, which some teachers felt had been missing in the audio-lingual method (Rivers, 1983, p. 7). According to Richards (1984, p. 7), the change in attitude towards the grammatical aspect of language only minimally affected language teaching because the emphasis was still on the structural aspects of language such as syntax and vocabulary, the whole issue of semantics being disregarded as being of any importance to beginning language learners. However, gradually the work of sociolinguists and ethnologists began to infiltrate the thinking of second language educators.

The Communicative Competency Approach

Chomsky's notion of competence as the internalized knowledge of the first language grammar, and performance as this competence in use, was challenged by sociolinguists and psycholinguists (Rivers, 1983, p. 14). They found that it did not account for an individual's ability to communicate appropriately in a socio-cultural context.

The influence from ethnolinguists and sociolinguistics

The linguistic hypotheses called the Sapir-Whorf hypotheses (1937-1941) greatly influenced the work of ethnolinguists by setting the trend for empirical research. The fundamental theses developed by Sapir and Whorf were: That language is a social product and as such the system in which we think shapes the way we see the reality of the world, and that differences in language result in different ways of perceiving the world. The differences are a result of the different environments which produce them (Schaff, 1973, p. 62).

The Sapir-Whorf hypotheses influenced the work of Dell Hymes who coined the term "communicative competence" (1971). "Communicative competence" refers to the knowledge a speaker requires and includes consideration regarding the following: Knowing whether something is formally possible according to the linguistic structure of the language; whether it is appropriate in relation to the context, and whether it was actually performed by the speaker (Hymes, 1971, p. 12). His work has had enormous effect on language teaching methods; many of the methods of today have been directly or tangentially influenced by the notion of communicative competence. It gave rise to various syllabuses and instructional procedures.

Communicative approaches to syllabuses

In 1976 Wilkins published a book called *Notional Syllabuses* which was based on the theory of language uses and functions, thus rejecting the underlying assumption of the structural and audio-lingual approaches that once grammar and vocabulary had been learned the language could be used for communicative purposes. Other syllabuses which appeared at about the same time were Van Ek's *The Threshold Level* (1976) and Munby's *Communicative Syllabus Design* (1978). These methods emphasized the semantic aspect of languages and are organized around the content of the language. Additionally, the effects of the communicative competence notion resulted in methods which came from new theories of learning and instructional processes (Richards, 1984, p. 7).

Communicative approaches to instruction

Since the focus for communicative competency is "the intuitive grasp of social and cultural rules and meanings that are carried by any utterance" (Stern, 1983, p. 229), much of the teaching and research which resulted from the recognition of a contextual aspect of language learning has resulted from Krashen's (1981) work. He proposes that language acquisition takes place during authentic communication and that formal learning, or the "monitor" effect, is of little importance to the development of communicative ability. The work of Terrell (1977), who put forward the notion of the "Natural Approach", has also been influential. Methodologies such as Asher's Total Physical Response (1972), Gattegno's Silent Way (1972) and Curran's Counseling-Learning (1972) are all instructional theories which have been developed as a consequence of increased awareness of the need for communicative competence.

Out of the communicative competence approach has grown the development of content-based language teaching. It is considered that some communicative competency classrooms were limited by inauthentic material. The latest trend is task-based language, language with an emphasis on two-way interaction. It has grown from the philosophy of child second language education in that it may use subject area content to teach the language (Snow, Met, & Genesee, 1989).

This overview has shown that language learners' needs have been considered primarily in terms of linguistic needs. How these linguistic needs were to be met has been the main focus of differentiation among the various language learning methods. However, are there other needs which can be met through learning a new language? Is there a "languagely" way of being in the world which can be acquired in order to make immigrants feel more at home in their new environment?

The Need to Question

> In the act of speech the individual achieves an autonomy, an authentic style which at the same time is the declaration of his membership in a continuing linguistic community whose traditions are sedimented in his natural being. (O'Neill, 1970, p. 58)

In Canada there has been a demand from the native Indian population for schools to provide ethnic, or heritage language programs. They have expressed their wish to reclaim their past through language and restate their community:

> Our languages say who we really are. The people at the gathering said that language is the basis of our culture: we perform our rituals, songs and ceremonies through our languages. Many words in the Indian languages cannot be explained or properly translated into the English or other non-Indian languages. These words and thoughts and feelings must stay in their original form, in the Indian languages, in order to hold the same meaning for our people. (Indian World, 1981, p. 16)

The call for ethnic languages raises a significant question for the domain of second language teaching and learning: What is the meaning of language in the life of an individual and does it have a part to play in feeling at home in a new place? What can the meaning of home tell us that may be important to our understanding of the situation of the immigrants with whom we work? Questions such as these raise a thoughtfulness, a sense of wonder about what may be missed, lost, or gained when one language is replaced by another:

> Thoughtfulness is described as a minding, a heeding, a caring attunement - a heedful, mindful wondering about the project of life, of living, of what it means to live a life. (Van Manen, 1984, p. 2)

However, the issues of both the meaning of language and meaning in language have been largely pushed aside throughout the historical development of second language teaching. Nevertheless, the reason for its disregard was not due to a lack of understanding about the role of language in meaning. Philosophers had been interested in the relationship between language and thought, but their insights had not been referred to by second language educators.

The philosophical perspective

The issue of meaning was being discounted, not because there was no understanding about the relationship of language and meaning. Philosophy of language had indeed been concerned with the question of the relationship between language and world-view. Neo-Kantianism as a philosophical trend had been well-established by the 1930's (Schaff, 1973, pp. 28-36). Cassirer was the major proponent of the thesis which stated that "what is given in cognition not only depends on the object of cognition but on the nature of the cognizing subject as well" (Schaff, 1973, p. 30). Thus, he addressed the question of the active role of language in thought and meaning-making, asserting that the "mind does not reproduce its object but creates it" (Schaff, 1973, p. 31).

The philosophical trend which prevailed between 1930 and 1950 was called logical positivism. It extended the notion of language as creating meaning by stating that language "is an arbitrary product of man and hence that the choice of language is arbitrary" (Schaff, 1973, p. 44). Thus, "meaning becomes a conscious construct derived from an objective encounter" (Lanigan, 1972, p. 29). The belief that language is a conscious construct derived from an encounter with an object makes language totally subjective and maintains the subject/object dichotomy. Consequently, it raised a philosophical question regarding this subjective-idealist position. Merleau-Ponty and Heidegger addressed the problem, proposing that humankind has an immediate presence in the world and that language is one way of being-in-the-world. For Heidegger, language (*Sprache*) is one form of discourse (*Rede*), discourse being a feature of being human and our acquaintance with the world (Schmitt, 1969, p. 100). Merleau-Ponty's thesis is very similar on this point:

> [F]or Merleau-Ponty a primordial communication is an authentic communication of existence, whereas a sedimented communication is in-authentic in the sense of not being existential. (Lanigan, 1972, p. 41)

There is an application of these theses for the second language domain: If language is a way of being-in-the-world, then what is it to learn another language and what is the effect on the first way of being-in-the-world? The lived experience of home may give some insights into the lived meaning of language and its place in becoming "at home" in a new country. To question language learning should entail the questioning of the lived experience of language learning. Language can be considered as a tool, yet it is more than that:

> Through language we first encounter that system of exchanges between consciousness and the world in which meaning is established and renewed in a permutation of the given and the possible which offers a paradigm of all cultural institutions, for it is the matrix of the acquisition and renewal of the tradition of humanity in each of us. (O'Neill, 1970, p. 61)

If we have a "languagely" way of being in the world, then in what ways is the language of home changed when people move to a new country? What are their needs in regards to a new "languagely" way of being in the new world? Is becoming at home in the new country an aspect of becoming at home in a "languaging" way? How much of being at home is being at home in the language of the things?

Another Look at "Needs"

From familiarity to feelings of strangeness and alienation to a new familiarity - what is the lived experience of this change for immigrants? Common-sense knowledge tells us that the feeling of strangeness is to be expected for people moving into a new cultural environment. They come to a new world with their own unquestioned pattern of knowing, that is, their cultural scheme of reference is as familiar and taken-for-granted as is our own for us. Their way of being-in-the-world becomes strange to themselves just as they are perceived as strangers by the "home" community. But common-sense knowledge does not give us phenomenological understanding and consequently does not give us insights into the lived experience of this change.

"Strangeness" and "alienation" are terms that are commonly used in reference to the difficulties encountered by immigrants. The words, or concepts refer to the feeling of being apart from the meaningfulness of the dominant social system. Alienation is experienced not only between the individual and the social world, but also includes the view of the individual towards self. It seems common-sensical to assume that with increased assimilation or integration into the host culture these feelings of alienation would decrease. However, the question of what it means to try to become "at home" in the new place and the new language does not get answered without listening attentively to the experience of the people involved. Common-sense knowledge advises us that as members of the host culture, the goal of the society and its education system should be to make the newcomers feel a part of the society. But common-sense knowledge does not inform us as to the nature of the transitions made in feelings of homeness when moving from one culture to another.

The concerns with efficiency and techniques in the development of curriculum materials and language methodologies has largely by-passed the perspective of being-in-the-world and the need for feeling at home that is fundamental to the human condition. Rodriguez, himself an immigrant, addressed this aspect in his book, *Hunger of Memory* (1981). In speaking of what he considered he lost as a result of his "gains" through formal education, he quite bitterly decries the notion of bilingual education:

> It [bilingual education] is a program that seeks to permit non-English speaking children, many from lower class homes, to use their family language as the language of school. (Such is the goal its supporters announce.) I hear them and am forced to say no: It is not possible for a child, any child, ever to use his family's language in school. Not to understand this is to misunderstand the public uses of schooling and to trivialize the nature of intimate family life, a family's "language". (Rodriguez, 1981, pp. 11,12)

He goes on to make the point that proponents of bilingual education fail to recognize that children may consider their mother-tongue as a private language, and that what they need to learn from school is that they have the "right - and the obligation - to speak the public language" (p. 19). He considers the obligation of education for the disavantaged is to encourage these minority groups to learn, and use, their public voice and attain a public identity. He claims that the use of private languages reinforces the feeling of separateness from the community at large.

Another theme that weaves its way throughout the book is that immigrant children who encompass the education system and attain a public voice necessarily run the risk of alienating themselves from their families in order to gain the advantages of a public identity:

> [I] rushed to "come home". Then quickly found that I could not. Could not cast off the culture I had assumed. Living with my parents for the summer, I remained an academic - a kind of anthropologist in the family kitchen, searching for evidence of our "cultural ties" as we ate dinner together. (p.160)

Rodriguez speaks of the intimacy of the mother tongue, as does

Martel:

> Being bilingual is not for me to be native-like in my second language. Although I live the second language and it has become natural to me, I still feel a *decalage*, a source that emerges from my mother tongue, a visceral linkage with action that can never be severed if I am to "dwell aright" in language. My second language is a vehicular language, my mother tongue is vernacular even though I could claim my mother tongue is not a *patois* and that my second language is often a dialect. This makes me a bilingual person but not a bicultural being. (Martel, n.d., p. 50)

The phenomenon of the homeness of language is implied in the above accounts, as is the lived significance of home in our lives. Lawrence speaks of "feeling at home" and where we might find home:

> In my case, the effort for these years to live in the dress of Arabs, and to imitate their mental foundation, quitted me of my English self, and let me look at the West and its conventions with new eyes: they destroyed it all for me. At the same time, I could not sincerely take on the Arab skin: it was an affectation only. (Lawrence, 1932, p. 33)

The question of where we can find home is also raised by the words of a girl who grew up in Kenya while it belonged to Britain. When she had to move back to England, where she was born and from where her parents came, she could not feel at home there. Neither did she any longer belong to Kenya. "'I just feel that I don't belong anywhere', she said" (Paulston, 1980, p. 373).

These words expose the complexity of the question of the significance of home and the phenomenon of feeling at home in language. The study questions the lived experience of the home of language and the language of home. It questions the experience for immigrants who have to learn a new "languagely" way of being-in-the-world.

Organization

Chapters 1 and 2 have developed the perspective from which this study evolved, showing the orientation to the question, the approach and the parameters of the study. Chapters 3-8 explore the themes that emerged through thematic analysis and interpretation of the experience of the people involved in the study. To close Chapter 8 I have offered an opening for re-thinking the pedagogy of English as a second language in light of pedagogic understanding of the meaning of home to the human condition.

CHAPTER THREE

WHERE DO YOU COME FROM?

When people ask this question of a newcomer they acknowledge that there is a difference between living somewhere and coming from somewhere. Where someone comes from is home: "The home is starting point as well as terminus" (Schutz, 1971 p. 107). It is from home that we begin our journey into the world beyond the immediate space of the house that we live in. It is to home, in the sense of the lived experience of being *at home*, that we return.

As young children, we are usually taught the address of our house should the need arise to ask someone for help in getting home. If children are asked where their home is, it is this address that they will relate. Our first sense of home is the space of the house. The human being "carves out of the universal space a special and to some extent private space and thus separates *inner space* from outer space" (Bollnow, 1961, p. 33). The outer space is the place of uncertainty, the place where one needs to be on the alert. The inner space of the house is where one can return and find the right space to simply *be* oneself. As we grow older and we venture into the wider world this sense of "home" seems to broaden. The walls of the house can be considered the boundary of inner and outer space. Yet the notion of "boundary" should not be conceived as "that at which something stops, but, as the Greeks recognized, the boundary is that from which something *begins its essential unfolding*" (Heidegger, 1964, p. 332). In other words, the home we come from is where our own being finds its genesis and belonging. It is the place that is intimately tied up with my sense of self, who I am.

In everyday language we ask, Where are you coming from? when we question someone's stance or opinion. If a person states a belief or attitude toward a particular topic, it helps us to come to some understanding of his or her position if we know where he or she is "coming from." It allows some comprehension of the source of the opinion.

The answer to the question, "Where do you come from?" requires a response which involves an awareness of the place to which we belong, the place where we feel bodily, spatially, temporally and socially "fitted" to the details of the life-world. The character Mole, in Kenneth Grahame's book, *Wind in the Willows*, experiences this embodied affinity between self and home:

> As he hurried along, eagerly anticipating the moment when he would be home again among the things he knew and liked, the Mole saw clearly that he was an animal of tilled field and hedgerow, linked to the ploughed furrow, the frequented pasture, the lane of evening lingerings, the cultivated garden-plot... he must be wise, keep to the the pleasant places in which his lines were laid and which held adventure enough, in their way, to last for a lifetime. (1908, p. 79)

In the same way as Mole refers to his "lines", we often refer to our "roots." This language discloses an awareness of our belonging to a place in a way that is like being tied to it, being connected in the deep sense of the word. The word "roots" has its beginnings in Old English, meaning source or basis. So the use of this word suggests that we branch out from there but we can't get away from it without feeling "uprooted." It is through our bodies that we feel this connection to the space, the time and the others of our homes. Through our bodies we are *embodied* in the world as lived, not the objective world of measured time or geographical location, but the world of long winters in a cold, grey country or short summers in a warm, flowering landscape. Time and space as experienced are not the same when we measure them objectively. The four months of summer may be exactly the same length of measured time as the four months of winter but experientially they do not seem the same. We all know the experience of days that seem to fly by and those that drag on and on. In the experience of the lived world, space and the things of the world cannot be separated, rather they are *present-ed* to us:

> Our existence manifests its spatiality in our intercourse with the things to which we relate in the world. The world in which things have their place and stand in meaningful relation to one another is the original form in which we are living. (Kruger, 1979, pp. 49-50)

Anecdotal theme: Concretizing self and place

"My parents are Chinese so obviously I'm Chinese, but I was born in Vietnam. We've never been recognized or accepted as Vietnamese citizens. At the time political things happen so the government wanted us to leave. I never thought Vietnam was my home, even if I was born there because I was an outsider there because I was Chinese. Vietnam discriminated against Chinese people," said Fong. "Although I haven't seen anything of China when I was in Vietnam I've always wanted to go to China because I've always considered myself Chinese. The Vietnamese and the Vietnamese government have always called me Chinese. But the mainland Chinese government never accept us as Chinese. They say we were born in Vietnam so we're Vietnamese. So I've always considered myself Chinese and I've always longed to go to China. I went to Chinese school since I was little, I graduated from Chinese high school in Vietnam. So in school I learned a little bit of China politically, historically and about the culture. So I've always wanted to go to China. So I tried to get the passport to go to China (from Vietnam) but they never did give me. I went to Chinese embassy in Vietnam and they kicked me out. But I never gave up the idea to go to China. That's why four years ago I made my trip to China. I sort of knew what China was like even before I saw it. I had some idea of what China was like. But when I went to China, China is very beautiful is what I found. More than Vietnam. The scenery, buildings, palaces, especially the palace where the King used to live. It's very significant to me. I've always considered myself Chinese for one thing, and Chinese has such a long history. And although I'd learned a little bit about it I hadn't really seen it until then. So when I saw it I was really excited, and I really enjoyed it. I felt like 'Hey I'm Chinese. Now I've seen my country.' Although I consider Canada as my country now, but I still cannot give up that idea that I'm Chinese. That's a fact, I really like it, the country itself."

Fong[1] came back to Canada thinking that now that he'd been to China that was enough and that he would not go back again, however this attitude changed quite quickly.

"Right after the trip I thought to myself that I wouldn't go back, I've seen enough. I'll never go back to China unless they change the system. But since I came back to Canada that idea kind of disappeared because I started to want to go back to China again. There are still other places I still want to go, South America, Europe, Australia. But I'll go back to China. It's such a big country there's a lot to see, places, scenery, culture. There's so many different dialects in China, each place you go there's something completely different. "After the trip I came home. I feel proud of myself. I am Chinese, I'm always Chinese. I was considered Chinese, I am considered Chinese, now I can always consider myself Chinese because I've seen China and things like that. Then there's another thing. In Chinese saying they say that if you haven't seen the Great Wall of China you're not Chinese. So of course I hadn't seen it before so I've always wanted to see it. When I went to China I made sure I not just see it but touch. And then came home, I mean to Canada, and show pictures to my friends and they say 'Eh you're actually Chinese, you're really Chinese now'. That really made me feel good."

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[1] Fong is a single man in his late twenties. He escaped from Vietnam with his brother, not knowing when or if he would see his family again. They did not know when they left Vietnam whether they would be accepted as refugees in any country at all. The decision to leave Vietnam did not include a decision to come to Canada. Rather, they were offered refugee status in Canada, thus Canada became the country in which they had the opportunity they were looking for, that is to build a new life.

Fong's story tells of his search for his identity with a country in which he was not born and had never lived. The country in which he did live, Vietnam, never felt like home to him. He feels that he is "obviously" Chinese because his parents are Chinese. However, is he really "obviously" Chinese?

When a child is born in a particular country, the child is a national of that country. If a person of Japanese or German parentage who was born in Canada were asked where they come from, they would likely reply that they come from Canada and call themselves Canadian. What seems to make Fong experience himself as being Chinese is not so much the obvious sense of identification with a country (that of being born there or having lived there for a significant length of time) as the sense of not being Vietnamese. He had been denied his identity as Vietnamese, so "obviously," in his experience, he becomes Chinese.

Yet, in Fong's story there is a strong sense of the need to find his identity. Although he uses the phrase that he is "obviously Chinese," he still needed to go to China to affirm that.

A sense of attachment to a particular place is important to the development of self-identity (cf. Searles, 1960; Wenkart, 1961). Having no sense of belonging to a particular place is a feeling of "uprootedness" which "interferes with the integrity of one's identity" (Godkin, 1980, p. 75). People can have this sense of uprootedness if they feel they do not have a place in which they can anchor their sense of being a member of a group. Fong had never been allowed to feel Vietnamese, so he had considered himself Chinese. However, Fong seems to have felt that one cannot claim to belong to a country that one had never lived in or even seen. In an objective world, his experience of himself as Chinese has no ground in rationality since he had never lived there and had not been born there. Nevertheless, his life experience was Chinese since an aspect of his past included his parents being Chinese. One *is* one's life-history; what "is called identity is largely understood through historicity" (Kruger, 1979, p. 61). His search for his identity appears to have something in common with the search that many adopted children conduct to find their biological parents. In this instance also, it seems that adoptive children may consider that their biological parents are part of their history and thus part of their identity to be somehow concretized. Fong's ties with China were nebulous and therefore his visit to China for him lent some concreteness to those ties. Seeing the Great Wall of China was a concrete act that afforded him an identification or self-*real*ization with many other "real" Chinese people.

Places may evoke a sense of community and shared identity. Places such as the Acropolis or Red Square foster a sense of national unity (Relph, 1976). There exists an intimate relationship between place and a sense of self, and it may be more fruitful to explore a person's sense of self-identity through place rather than through psychoanalysis (Bachelard, 1964).

The intimacy of person and place has been alluded to in literature. Catherine of *Wuthering Heights* was very attached to the moors. Catherine is often drawn back to the moors and in particular to one special rock. She speaks lovingly of this place to Heathcliff and at the approach of her death she wishes to be carried to the window in order to look upon the moors (Bronte, 1987). And a Scottish girl who leaves the highlands to search in Canada for a long-lost friend has difficulty leaving her special place:

> All her life, in times of joy or trouble, Mary had come to this hill... She threw herself down on the hilltop, stretched out her arms, and put her ear against the ground. Sometimes, beyond the rustling noises of the grass and of the insects that burrowed beneath it, Mary could hear what might be the pipes and fiddles of fairy music, and once in a great while, in rare moments, she was sure she could hear the voice of the hill itself. (Lunn, 1986, p. 13)

Identity of self is also linked to the identity of a community, which is in turn linked to the history and future of that community:

> A sense of identity means a sense of being at one with oneself as one grows and develops; and it means, at the same time, a sense of affinity with a community's sense of being at one with its future as well as its history - or mythology. (Erikson, 1974, p. 27)

Fong's story shows his desire to link himself with the Chinese community and its history. When he had concretized China as a lasting source of his identity he was prepared to come back to Canada, feeling that he could now rightly claim to be Chinese. Furthermore, in satisfying this need, he was then able to move on to "becoming more Canadian" and his wish to visit China again is more through a desire to travel and see the sights than a desire to *realize* his identity.

Place and identity interact. Being "centered" and having a sense of identity with a place is a result of the balance between "home and horizons of reach" (Buttimer, 1980, p. 171). As people who strive to dwell, we need the "reciprocity of rest and movement, territory and range, security and adventure, housekeeping and husbandry, community building and social organization" (p. 170). The human condition encompasses both staying and leaving: "The tradition of the camp-fire faces that of the pyramid" (Chatwin, 1987, p. 208). It seems that once Fong had "centered" himself in China he felt fit to reach out and move beyond his place of centeredness.

Anecdotal theme: Leaving home can mean seeing oneself in a new way

"When I stepped outside the airport all I could see was white people. I had never seen white people before, they looked so different to Vietnamese people. And I could feel that they look at me, my black hair and brown eyes and my skin color. In Vietnam I don't feel people look at me like that. Many times I feel that I should be in Vietnam where everybody has black hair and brown eyes. And I would just be walking on the street and nobody looking at me wondering where I come from."

Lam[2] spoke of his frequent wish to return to Vietnam since he would prefer to live "in my own country where everyone is like you." He said that his physical appearance, being different from white Canadians, often reminds him of not being where he belongs. It seems that what Lam experiences is the loss of the taken-for-grantedness that comes with being a member of a group. Perhaps if he were to return to Vietnam it would feel "special to be taken for granted" (Shaw, 1990, p. 224).

The way in which we are in the world is through our bodies. We cannot encounter the world except as we know it through our own bodies:

> I am always in the world in and through my body: I am an embodied consciousness, an incarnated subjectivity. All my modes of existence are fundamentally modes of existence in and through my body. I am neither a disembodied self (or ego) nor a mechanical organism but a living unity, a body permeated by self. (Van Kaam, 1966, p. 16)

We are our body. A mother who touches the arm of a sick child "is not caressing a sheath which is supposed to hold her child, but she touches the child itself" (Van Den Berg, 1955, p. 38). Our body is the contact with the world and through the body we are who we are. What we know and what we live is done through the body that is in the world. We also *have* a body, but the having of a body is not the pre-reflective experience of ourselves. In ordinary language we speak of our bodies as of ourselves:

> Who says that he *has* a body, has in fact removed himself already from his normal existence. Looking in the glass, we usually say: "I

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[2] Lam is the father of three Canadian children. He and his wife fled Vietnam in a leaky boat, not knowing where they would arrive, or indeed if they would reach the shores of any country. They waited on a Malaysian island for eight months before being offered refugee status in Canada. Lam spoke freely but apologetically about how much he missed his native country. Being grateful for the "sanctuary" of Canada did not outweigh his sense of lacking home.

> am plain" or "I am handsome"; this is already a great deal more usual than to say: the face I have is plain, etc. Nor will anyone conclude his examination at the glass with the words: "I must shave off the hair stubbles from the face I have." We say: "I must wash *myself*," "I must cut *my* nails." (Van Den Berg, 1955, p. 39)

Lam's experience of his body, his physical appearance, is one of *having* hair and skin of a certain colour. In Vietnam he did not walk in the streets and reflectively think about the colour of his hair or eyes, he simply *was* that person of those particular features. Now in a foreign country, he is reflectively aware of those features by being made conscious of them through the eyes of others.

Whether or not the people in the street are indeed thinking about Lam in the way in which he supposes they are, is not relevant to his experience of himself. In those moments he no longer *is* his body. Instead, he *has* his body and it brings to mind his identity of being someone different, someone foreign.

A Canadian who was travelling in China noticed that some people looked at him rather curiously. He asked a friend what might be the concern. He was told that his nose was different. Others had very small noses and his was big and of a different shape. "In China I discovered I have a nose!" he said.

Since we encounter the world through our bodies it follows that we also encounter others in the same manner. Usually our bodies are experienced pre-reflectively, our bodies are our spontaneous presence to the world and others. Sartre (1956) describes the act of looking at someone through a keyhole. A person can be completely lost to himself or herself in this act until footsteps alert the person to the presence of someone who is looking at him or her. The unreflective mode of being dissipates as the person becomes an object for another (pp. 252-302). Other people and other "things" may have the tendency to bring us to ourselves in a new way:

> Is it my clothes, my way of walking,
> the things I carry in my hand
> -a book, a bag with knitting-
> the incongruous pink of my shawl
>
> this space cannot hear? (Atwood, 1976, p. 80)

What has been previously so much a part of us that we are forgetful of ourselves now becomes an objective awareness or, as the poem indicates, for a foreigner may become a compelling question.

Lam's experience of his presence to the others of his new country is not a pre-reflective mode of being. In being alienated from his own body to the extent that he lives it reflectively, his mode of presence, to himself and others, has changed. He is not "at home" with his body, because he has already left it to think about it. Neither is he "at home" on the street where he believes people are wondering where he comes from.

Being asked the question, "Where do you come from?" can sometimes be jarring for a person who has lived away from their first home for a long time: "I have been here for fifteen years now," said Gillian,[3] "and I often forget that I'm not from here, that I sound different to Canadians. So when people ask me where I come from it surprises me as it reminds me that I don't come from here. No matter how hard I've tried to fit in, my accent will tell people that I'm from elsewhere and their question reminds me of that aspect of myself." So the question, "Where do you come from?" instigates a move from a pre-reflective experience of self to a reflective mode of being. Self-forgetfulness dissipates.

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[3] Gillian married a Canadian whom she had met in her home country, Australia. She said that many of the things we spoke of during our conversation she had never articulated to herself. In doing so, she came to the awareness of how she sensed having "moved into a new space" in her attitude toward being at home in Canada, however feeling equally capable of being at home in Australia.

Home as a source of identity seems to have not only an experience of place, but also an experience of body. The two cannot be torn apart, experience of place and body intertwine. There is a primordial aspect to the bodily experience of inhabitation. When a place is truly inhabited there is no clear distinction between "body and matter, between bodies and mere things" (Jager, 1985, p. 219). Bodily existence flows over the things of the world and includes them in the sphere of life. To not know this manner of inhabitation is to experience alienation:

> A fully inhabited world is at the same time a fully embodied world. Alienation - painful discordant embodiment - is itself a loss of access to the flesh of nature; it means the suffering of a "no" of things. Alienation is the fatal enclosing of the powers of the body within its own skin - a forced, brooding selfishness. Alienation is ultimately the failure of inhabitation and embodiment. (Jager, 1985, p. 219)

It seems that Lam's sense of disembodiment may contribute to his inablity to feel at home in the new environment since he is alienated from his body.

Anecdotal theme: We see ourselves as part of our country

While still new to Canada I found myself in a church with some friends. As they were talking to some other people I walked over to the bulletin board. There was an announcement about the pending appearance in Edmonton of Michael and Lindy Chamberlain[1]. A brief synopsis told the story of their conviction "in the most controversial criminal case in Australian history." It wasn't the story that touched a sensitive spot. Rather it was the word "Australia" that compelled my gaze. Those simple letters evoked the meaning the place has for me. "Australia", that word, that's my home, where I come from. I spent several seconds just looking at the word, letting it pull me into itself, as if it somehow allowed me to get closer to the place it named. Looking at the word seemed to remind me of my "self." But surely this was not an instance of experiencing identity? My identity as Australian is with me all the time. Or is it?

Much of the time we do not reflect on our identity as being associated with a country. But when away from a country, the experience of who one is in relation to a country becomes a more reflective mode of being. Not only are we frequently asked where we come from, but many things happen to remind us that our identity is different from those around us. And when we meet and grow fond of people from another country we like to show them photographs or speak of our home country. We often want to share the facet of our identity that is our country.

Home as a source of identity and as a place to which we feel we belong are perhaps two sides of the same coin. As an immigrant, the years spent living in the second country gradually begin to exert their influence. When I first moved to Australia from Scotland, I told people who inquired where I came from that I was from Scotland. For a long time that was the place to which I felt I belonged. After a number of years, however, my answer changed and I replied that I was from Australia. My time away from Scotland meant that I could no longer feel that I belonged there and that my identity, the person I am, is much more Australian than Scottish. On the other hand, my parents will still say they come from Scotland despite the fact that they consider Australia their home.

Scotland is a source of their identities, but they feel that they belong more to Australia.

The question of where we can find home as a source of identity is raised by the words of a girl who grew up in Kenya while it belonged to Britain. When she had to move back to England, where she was born and from where her parents came, she could not feel at home there. Neither did she any longer belong to Kenya. "'I just feel that I don't belong anywhere', she said" (Paulston, 1980, p. 373). It seems that "home" is a place from which we have a sense of our genesis, however our identity, our sense of self, also comes from "home" as a place to which we feel we belong. Identity consists in inhabitation and embodiment. The embodied self must have a sense of its own historicity and thus the need for continuity in the knowledge of one's source and one's journey.

Theme one: Home is one source of identity

The three anecdotal themes, "Concretizing self and place," "Leaving home can mean seeing oneself in a new way," and "We see ourselves as part of our country" may be captured by the overriding theme, *Home is one source of identity*. Our personal identity is embodied in the country which we think of as home, the country which has been the soil of our becoming. For most people the notion of home as a place where they come from is already concretized as a result of living in that country. However, the way of knowing home as the place one comes from is a taken-for-granted, non-reflective mode of being until one leaves the country. When away from one's own country, we see ourselves in a new way and we tend to experience our identity as being linked to the home country. If home is such a source of identity, in what way can the pedagogy of ESL address this in practice?

Should the practice of teaching English to immigrants be attentive, within the context of the classroom, to the meaning of personal identity?

In second language curricula, the theme of identity is often treated as the way in which to give one's name, nationality, date of birth and such other personal information. However, there is a more fundamental and thoughtful way of attending to the meaning of identity. One's identity includes life experiences and knowledge which has shaped the way the world is understood. One possibility for teaching could be that ESL teachers bring to reflective awareness in their students what it is about their home country that has been significant in shaping their personal identity. In this way immigrants not only have their past acknowledged in their new life, but also they have the opportunity to come to a deepened self-awareness about what has brought them to the new stage of their lives which is the life of being an immigrant. To deliberately tell the story of one's life is a fundamental method of personal growth and consequently a fundamental aspect of education. In a way that echoes Friere's (1972) notion of "conscientization," telling the story of one's life raises one's consciousness. It is an approach that starts with where one is and what one knows in order to look at and reflect on where one might go. An authentic second language education will allow space for the storying of the students. Telling our story allows for "a re-presenting and re-interpreting of our lives... It is the development of identity" (Sauve, 1988, p. 183).

For immigrants, learning the second language should be considered to be more than learning another linguistic code. To learn the language is a mode of "cultural empowerment" and development of self-identity

(Freire, 1987). It is through language that immigrants will come to understand their new world. It is the new language that will help them to know how best to become what they may become in the new country.

Anecdotal theme: At home people speak to each other in a particular way

Leszek[4], who had been in Canada for seven months, said: "I find differences in the way to talk to people. Different kind of sense of humor. I cannot explain but I see. For instance in my country when I know a woman I can say 'How are you girls?', this is nice. But not here. If I say that here I can be in trouble. Emancipation and all this. One day I said 'Hello girls' to some friends and they said, 'We know you and we know your sense of humor and we know that what you said is nice. We know about this. But don't say this to a woman in Canada.' They explained that it is not accepted here. And many other things I ask about. I have friends here and I say, 'Can I say this or do that?.' I ask for advice. Because something else happened in New York when I was there. One day I was with my landlady and she was carrying two heavy bags. And I ask her if I can help but she said, 'I can do it.' I said, 'I know you can do it but I will do it because you are a woman.' And she said, 'Don't say things like this.' We had a discussion but I don't understand this - the position of women in this society. In my thinking you're a woman, I have to open the door and lift heavy things because I'm stronger, this is true physically. And this is good in this situation that man have to help the woman. And she said 'Not here in North America. Here the woman will feel that you treat her as something worth less than the men.' In my country I will feel bad if a woman is carrying two heavy things and I have nothing. And if she says 'no' I will still feel bad because people don't know that she refused my help. They think 'Oh this guy he doesn't help her carry this heavy stuff.'"

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[4] Leszek is a very energetic man from Poland. He left his wife and daughter behind while he came to The United States to there await permission to immigrate to Canada. His family is now with him, but they have had many disappointing setbacks concerning work. Nevertheless, Leszek is ambitious and assertive, determined in his approach to making a life in Canada. He is adamant that life holds more possibility for him in Canada than in Poland. Unfortunately, his wife is not of the same opinion, wanting desperately to return to Poland.

Many immigrants encounter differences in the accepted topics and modes of address of the new language. Aside from difficulties with vocabulary, grammar and intonation, they also encounter difference in the way they can speak to people and the things that can be said. The word, glance or gesture of someone with whom we have a common bond can throw a different light on the experience of a situation. It is not so much the words of a loved one that are spoken but the person speaking them that can throw a "glow" over the world (Van Den Berg, 1955, p. 49). Likewise, for the immigrants who have to learn a new language and also, as Leszek shows, a new *way* of speaking, it is not so much the words that count in the speaking to others but it is what is disclosed about the speaker through the words.

Language is not only and not primarily expression through sounds and words. The essence of language is its propensity to bring the *being-ness* of the being into the open: "In the absence of language there is no openness of being" (Peperzak, 1989, p. 15). Thus, a person "reveals himself in the words" (Van den Berg, 1955, p. 49). In his homeland of

Poland, Leszek's use of the word "girls" discloses a friendly, relaxed, fun-loving speaker. However, in a new country this may not be the case. In Canada, such a statement perhaps reveals someone who has a disdainful approach towards women. It is the understanding of the meaning of the things being referred to by two people that can endow particular words with particular meanings and therefore the new language learner has to learn a new way of being with people. The language learners' revelation of themselves must learn a new way of being with others. Language learning involves coming together with people in understanding a new way of looking at things of the world:

> The fellow man is not another isolated entity, standing beside me, pouring words into my ear; who, just as myself, would remain foreign to the things of the world. He is primarily one who is or is not "together" with me and the degree of this being together with me or not is no metaphysical abstraction, but a reality, visible in the things which he and I observe. (Van Den Berg, 1955, p. 51).

The act of communication with others can create a nearness or a distance between speakers. More than that, another person can also create a nearness or distance between a person and the things of the world. A phenomenological perspective of the relationship between the human being and the world of things allows that human beings have an originary contact with the things of the world. It is possible for tradespeople to become so used to their tools that they forget themselves in the tools. For example, the typist comes to know the position of the letters on the keyboard through the keyboard itself; the knowledge of the position of the letters comes to be known in the space where the fingers meet the keyboard (Merleau-Ponty, 1973). Communication between people is not a contact between two people without a world to *meet* in. Rather, communication comes about through a common understanding of the things of the world: "The relationship of man and man is embodied in the physiognomy of things, in the world's being far or near" (Van Den Berg, 1955, p. 53). So Leszek finds himself distanced from the world he knows through his experience of the way to communicate with certain others he meets.

Lam spoke of the continual talk of ice-hockey that he encounters in the staff room of his workplace: "They are very into hockey, football and going to the bar and drinking. And staying away for the week-end. I can never adapt to that lifestyle."

It is significant that Lam uses the word "into" hockey. The Canadians that Lam encounters in work have a relationship, they are *in touch with*, something which Lam feels he can never get *into*. Hockey is one area of communication through things that has distanced him from his new country. Communication is always about something in the world and the newcomer has to find a common "thing" through which to meet the others of the new country. Communication is an aspect of being *into* the world.

Anecdotal theme: At home there is more laughter

Marvin[5] misses the laughter of home: "At home we have laughter. Here in Canada I sometimes wonder how it is that I can have just about anything material that I want to buy. I can go and use the Visa and get anything but still there is no laughter. In the Philippines you can only earn enough money to buy food but still there is laughter."

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[5] Marvin is a diminutive single lady from the Phillipines who came to work in Canada in order to send money back to her family. Very energetic and constantly working, she is single-minded in her determination to make enough money to put her nephews and nieces through school and then go back home. Although she has been in Canada for ten years, she sees it merely as a place to work and she longs to return to life in Manilla.

The *homeness* of language is evident in our relation to humor. Marvin has difficulty with understanding jokes in English. It is one of his goals to be able to laugh along with others: "I cannot understand lots of jokes. People tell jokes and they laugh and I can't even laugh at the jokes. Some I can but lots I don't know. I must learn more English so that I can understand why they are laughing."

But learning English need not result in understanding why people are laughing. Being in touch with the humor of a particular country is not only related to language. Rather, humor is an experience of language and its people that is learned in passing. Many Americans have trouble with British humor and vice-versa. This is not so much a language problem, but an intimacy with the way of being of a particular group. No amount of language learning will succeed in making a person feel intimate with the humor of a country. It is a way of being with language that defies teaching and learning.

Leszek feels that his language is improving because he is now able to understand some of the humor on television: "When I came to USA I spent much time watching television, especially stand-up comedies because it's my idea that if I can understand humor it means my English is better. And this is true because first weeks I understood very little and people were laughing and I don't know why. But right now I can say that it is much better, I can watch television and I can understand more. And this is proof that my English is better. Because when you understand humor in foreign language this is good."

Laughter adds lightness to life. The experience of contending with a new language and new lifestyle, finding a job, making friends and generally dealing with uprootedness is a stressful time for many people. It is serious business. Therefore, at a time in one's life when laughter is most needed it is sometiimes difficult to laugh. A person may not have the linguistic capacity to either make a joke or to understand a joke of another person. With a quick rejoinder or "one-liner" a speaker or listener has a burden or worry lifted momentarily. Through jokes, individual people or even a nation of people can laugh at themselves. A joke allows an opportunity to stand back momentarily from the seriousness of life and look at it differently.

A tension exists in the lived experience of dwelling, the tension between the realms of the "mundane" and the "festive." The activity of inhabitation moves between two poles, the festive which becomes a source of delight, and the mundane which is the dependable, task-oriented everyday-ness of living (Jager, 1985). Language too moves between these poles:

> And our language which in the festive mode trails off the beaten path and stirs the earth and approaches music - this "same" language becomes in the world of daily work a tool of transmitting messages. (p. 223)

For immigrants for whom there is little or no laughter a certain way of being in the world, a certain form of inhabiting, of being "at home" is lacking.

The jokes that people tell in social situations speak a way of knowing that can leave some people feeling closer to the group. They are binding in their way of regarding the aspect of life to which they refer. On the other hand, such jokes can leave someone on the outside:

I try to join in the general hilarity, as somebody tells the latest

> elephant joke. Then - it's always a mistake to try too hard - I decide to show my goodwill by telling a joke myself. Finding some interruption in which to insert my uncertain voice, I launch into a translation of some slightly off-color anecdote I'd heard my father tell in Polish, no doubt hoping to get points for being risqué as well as a good sport. But as I hear my choked-up voice straining to assert itself, as I hear myself missing every beat and rhythm that would say "funny" and "punch line," I feel a hot flush of embarrassment. I come to a lame ending. There's a silence. (Hoffman, 1989, p. 118)

When a joke falls flat, communication is lost. Communication is a feature of living with others, accomplished through the things of the world. It is through the things of the world that human beings can meet each other. For a joke to be understood, there must be a common *thing* as the meeting ground.

The use of spatially-orientated words has again arisen in the above anecdotes. In the use of the words which relate to the world being near or far, of being *into* the things, there is again the indication of the dialectics of home and horizon, centre and reach. There is a feature of "*openness* and *enclosure* in at-homeness" (Buckley, 1971, p. 207). Without a "certain genuine openness, it is not possible to let reality in, 'to let it be', 'to be in touch'" (p. 207). And there is the indication of the need for embodied existence in order to feel "at home" in the language. Through communication there is the possibility of both nearness of the world or distance from it. The distance from the world may have the same lived meaning as being distanced from the body which was the case for Lam and his awareness of physical difference. It appears that language and communication are aspects of being "at home" in that they serve to accomplish embodied inhabitation which is not only enclosure in the world that one knows, but openness to the others of the world.

Anecdotal theme: An accent comes from somewhere else

Huy[6] spoke about the difficulties he had because of his accent: "When I speak to Canadians I have to speak English and when I speak to Vietnamese I speak Vietnamese. When I speak English I have to change my accent. When I speak Vietnamese I have to change my accent too. It's quite different in accent and intonation. So it took me long time to learn the intonation and the accent in English. I have to think about that, not only the words but I have to make the voice, the intonation, the accent, otherwise people don't understand me. First of all I was really frustrated when I say something and people don't understand and I have to try the other way to say it. I think the same thing when English people try to speak Vietnamese. We have to listen very carefully in order to understand."

Home may be recognized through accent and intonation. Although pronounciation and intonation are recognized in the domain of second language teaching, they are usually given more consideration in the intermediate and advanced courses. Nevertheless, even at these levels, the emphasis is placed on intelligibility of the spoken word and teachers are often advised not to correct pronunciation too much. It is recognized that it is almost impossible for adult language learners to ever speak without a trace of accent (cf. Krashen, 1981; Halliday, 1976). But maybe what has not been recognized is that one's accent has something to do with being at home in a language.

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[6] Huy's motivation for leaving Vietnam was his career ambition. He is a young, single man who spoke with detachment about Vietnam and Canada. He displayed little emotion and rarely had anything to say that portrayed any emotional attachment to a person or place. He has gone about making connections in Canada in a systematic way for the purpose of advancing his professional interest. He is happy to be living in Canada since it is where his career ambition may be fulfilled.

Bogdan[7] said that he felt that he would always be an immigrant in Canada because of his accent and that this would forever prevent him from feeling other than an immigrant: "As soon as I speak they want to know where I come from. This is always the thing. So every time I open my mouth I remember that I'm an immigrant and that this is not my home country. I think this will always be the way, Some Canadians told me because of my English, one guy told me that if you speak perfect English but you have still the accent, for many people born here you know nothing. Because you have different accent then you cannot know. But if I don't open my mouth they don't know that I'm different from them."

Accent would seem to be a superficial feature of language but it appears that it has to do with the homelike experience of language and of being who you are. When one is at home one does not have an accent. People don't think of themselves as having an accent until they find themselves away from home. A Canadian friend of mine, when trying to describe the voice of a person who had telephoned for me, said, "Well, he didn't have an accent." I immediately retorted, "So you mean he had a Canadian accent!"

I recall an incident when I was trying to make myself understood and someone kept asking me to repeat myself. A person standing nearby made a joke about my accent. I suddenly wanted to go home because I tired of sounding different and I wanted to be back where I belong in the "accent community." An accent identifies a person as "coming from" one place rather than another. In Australia, Canada and the United States there are many people who have made their home in their second country in that they feel that they belong there and that they couldn't live in the country of their birth, yet their accent identifies them as "coming from" elsewhere. In that case, the question of where they come from never escapes them. They will continually be asked questions such as Where does that accent come from? The second country may indeed feel like home to them but they never come from there. Their identity is always twofold in that where they come from and where they now belong are two different places.

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[7] Bogdan conjures up images of left-bank student cafés. He loves to talk enthusiastically about politics, history and architecture, but feels this intellectual side of his life is sorely lacking in Canada. No longer the student of history that he was in Poland, he drives a cab, thus largely isolated from anything but trivial exchanges.

Anecdotal theme: When away from home we hear the sound of words

When one is new to a country the sounds of that language besiege one. I recall paying almost as much attention to the sounds of the Canadian accent as to the words that were being spoken to me. On one occasion I had unwittingly been talking on the phone to an Australian for a minute or two before I realized that I was listening to this person in a different way from the way I listen to a Canadian. I was not listening to the different *sounds* of words. I was listening to the person and hearing *through* his words.

Eva[8] said that when she turns the television on she is constantly reminded of being an immigrant because she "hears only English." It seems that she hears the sound of English rather than hears the meaning of the language; the sounds predominate and become as an object which has to be passed beyond in order to be forgotten.

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[8] Eva and her husband George fled Poland, leaving behind one of their two daughters while they went to Italy to apply to come to Canada. Nine months later they were able to be re-united with Evalina. Eva stays at home studying dentistry books written in English. She wants to work as a dentist again, but has to virtually re-do her degree. She is not confident about ever being a dentist again and reconciles herself to the thought of being a dental

Inhabitation means to withdraw the limits of bodily existence to include the place. When one touches something the hand itself withdraws or becomes "transparent", thus revealing the texture of the object. This can also be seen in regards to language in that the

> sound of words or the sight of letters can effectively withdraw so that a clearing is created in which we can come to contemplate the sights and sounds of past and present worlds. (Jager, 1985, p. 220)

When one is "at home" in a language the sounds withdraw leaving a space for the meaning to disclose itself. When this happens, the accent is no longer heard. When we are with another, both of us speaking and listening to the thing in question and absorbed in the conversation that unites us, we go beyond the sounds that are produced in order to reach the "thing" to which the word refers us.

There is an "essential self-forgetfulness" (Gadamer, 1976, p. 64) to language. In speaking as a native speaker in the natural attitude (Schutz, 1971) one is not conscious of the structure, grammar and syntax of the language. However this self-forgetfulness is not a feature for those learning to speak in a new language. Leszek often asks for guidance from others concerning what he can and cannot say: "I many times ask my friends, 'Can I say like this?' or, 'Is it okay to use this word?' All the time I have to think if it is okay, what I am saying."

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assistant.

He cannot forget himself in the language, so speaking the second language can be an event which, with its necessity for continual alertness, may be quite stressful. Eva said, "It is extremely difficult for me. I find always stress. I'm often afraid to open my mouth because I'm scared I could say something wrong and then it makes them smile."

The need for immigrants in the early stages of learning a language to constantly think about the grammar is an unnatural way to speak and it prevents them from feeling at home:

> The actual operation of language lets grammar vanish entirely behind what is said in it at any given time... The more language is a living operation, the less we are aware of it. Thus it follows from the self-forgetfulness of language that its real being consists in what is said in it. (Gadamer, 1976, p. 65)

If language is given together with the world, "dialect reveals environment" (Mugerauer, 1985, p. 62). "Dialect holds together local environment and mother tongue, place and local language" (p. 62). Dialect means more than an accent or local language. Rather, "its interpretation of the environment is what makes possible a coherent, meaningful and valued way of life for those who share the dialect" (p. 63). The manner in which we make contact with the world is the manner in which it reveals itself to us. If dialect can be said to have such significance for the inhabitants of a particular place in that it calls forth a particular way of living with their environment, perhaps there is indication that the same can be said for the language of one's home country; it does not only have different sounding words, but it calls forth a different environment.

Anecdotal theme: The talk of home is different

"Even the talk is different. In Poland we would go to cafés and talk about important things, everybody is interested in politics and we talk about things happening in the world. Here everybody is so disinterested. They are just interested in their own little life. They don't care. I feel sometimes lost, I can't understand it. The whole underground life, I miss. The life of discussions."

In a new country where one is learning the language it may be difficult to talk about certain topics of substance. One simply does not have the linguistic ability to do so. People first learn what is known as "survival language" in the ESL domain. With this sort of linguistic ability people who have been used to philosophical or political talk in their own country may find it difficult to get accustomed to "small talk," as Bogdan implied: "What I miss is the cafés where we all used to go and sit for hours and talk about important things. We have beautiful cafés where it is common for many intellectual people to meet to discuss things. The cafés here are so different."

So in missing the actual event of these discussions the environment, the space in which such discussions occurred, is also missed. The talk is missed not only in itself but also in the environment, the memories of which are called forth in the talk. In everyday experience we might say to ourselves "Now, who was telling me that, where did I hear that?" At such times we find that we must recall the place where we heard the words in order to recall the person who said them. The speaker and the words seem to be tied to the place. Bogdan's experience of the cafés is not only of the talk of the cafés, but of the meaning of the space of the cafés themselves. An ontological aspect of language is "the being or reality of environment - whether natural or cultural" and "language enables the environment to come forward into experience" (Mugerauer, 1985, p. 67, 68).

Theme two: Home is in the way we speak

There is a way of living in a language that somehow defies the confines of the linguistic structure of language. People become used to "speaking to each other in a particular way," "there is more laughter," the accent does not "come from somewhere else," they do not "listen to the sound of words" and there the "talk of home" is familiar. These experiences come together to suggest the theme, *Home is in the way we speak*. The language of home means not only knowing *that*, but also knowing *how*. Given that there is such a home-like quality to language, what can be attended to in the ESL classroom to foster a more home-like feeling in the second language?

Teachers of adult immigrants are not teaching new language learners. Everybody in the class has already learned a language and a way of being with language. They now have to learn a new way of being with language. But the ground for this understanding remains the first language. It is the first language that allows the second language to come to being. Rather than attempt to teach English through a monocultural perspective, perhaps there should be more attention directed toward the comparison of the languages. An openness to the culture which nourishes the second language could foster more understanding of the source of the differences and possible misunderstandings. Learners could come to see the way in which their first language has shaped them. The intention of the ESL programs should not be that immigrants subordinate either language to the framework of the other. Rather than ask immigrants to alter their relationship to the world, we should aim to "enrich and extend it through the world of the foreign language" (Aoki, 1987, p. 42). Perhaps through reflection on the comparisons of the language world-views there is the possibility of better coming to know both "homes." Immigration is a possibility for "re-reading the world" (Freire, 1987, 35).

Anecdotal theme: There's a little bit of home in this..

"I'm very busy in the house to make it settled. I like to spend my time putting our things in the right place and putting on the walls these photographs from Poland. The architecture of the homes is different here and even though we cannot change the buildings we can try to put up things that make it look more like our house in Poland. It is nice to stay home and do these things for my family. I like to have time to make the house to look nice and to find the place for these things that we brought with us."

Like Eva, many people bring things from their home country, or after their arrival they acquire things such as momentos and photographs. Why do we tend to bring things from home to set around us in a new place? Surely to make us feel more *at* home?

Space is something that stays among the things: "Even when we relate ourselves to those things that are not in our immediate reach, we are staying with the things themselves" (Heidegger, 1964, p.334). The things from home and the space back home are connected and so can give us a sense of home. Therefore, we use the idiomatic phrase "There is a little bit of home in this ..." We bring things from home to put up around us in the new abode because in the things themselves there is the space of home. So the activity of "caretaking" turns a space into a place which is familiar and "addresses" one (Lang, 1985). The occupation of setting up the new "home" be it a room, an apartment or a house is significant to the feeling of being part of a place. Basia[9] who was living with friends when she first arrived in Canada, needs to find an apartment: "You know I need to find somewhere to live on my own. My friends are very nice and they don't want me to leave but I need more space to myself. This is their place and I am always a visitor. For me it is important to find a place of my own. I want to have a place where I can put up all my own things and make it a little bit more like a home. I don't think I can feel settled until I have my own place, even if it will cost me much more money. But in this case money is not the important thing."

It seems that in the activity of arranging things, "taking care of things" (Lang, 1985), there is the feeling of making one's own mark in the new space and thus turning it into a place of one's own. This activity usually involves arranging things from one's home country and in this way establishing some kind of continuity with the past. A photograph from the mantelpiece at home will be put in a similar sort of position in the new house. A treasured item which holds significance in the life at home will be placed in such a way that it can continue to *speak* of home. There always seems to be just the right place to put certain items, they do not belong as well to other places. Perhaps the "right" place for certain things is related to the place that they had in the previous home. Although these items may cause some unhappiness at times in that they recall the place left behind, and at some times we may even want to remove them from sight so that we can maintain our equilibrium, they do provide some continuity with the past. The lived experience of living with the things from home in this way raises the question of the significance of things and the manner in which they play a part in our lives. They seem to *speak* to us, so do things have a language?

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[9] Basia had only been in Canada for three months, having arrived from Poland via a two-year stay in England. A small, energetic single lady who was a psychologist in Poland, she is determined to remain optimistic, despite sometimes feeling inclined to become despondent about her failure to find work.

"I was just passing this part of the shop where they have some children's toys and I suddenly saw a panda bear with the black eyes," said Guicing[10]. "I had to stop and pick it up and look at it. It make me think of my home country because we all like this bear very much. We have many of such toys in China. I was not even thinking about my home when I saw this bear but after that I think of home."

The things of home have a way of recalling us in their evocation of the place that they signify. A children's story (Fox, 1984), tells of a little boy who is concerned for an elderly friend who has lost her memory. He asks people what memory is and is told by various people that it is something warm, something precious, something that makes you laugh. So he goes out and collects an egg still warm from the hen, a medal from his grandfather and a puppet on a string. He takes these objects to the old lady and as she handles each one she recalls a place and a time from her past: "And the two of them smiled and smiled because Miss Nancy's memory had been found again..."

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[10] Guicing is one very unhappy resident of Canada. She is Zhou's wife and came to Canada to be with him while he completed his doctorate. Although she liked the idea of living in Canada for a few years, she is not enamoured at the thought of staying. Her bodily stance as she spoke of Canada reflected her mental stance - there was a distinct sense of rigidity and resistance. When she spoke of China, however, there was softness and wistfulness in her voice.

Clothes, too, have the propensity to remind of us a particular time or place. As fashions come and go it is quite common to hear people saying things such as, "I remember wearing dresses (or suits) just like that when we used to go dancing at the... " For immigrants, clothes may carry a sense of home in their particular familiarity.

Eva sees the clothes that the Polish people wear at Church and feels that, despite the length of time some of the people have been in Canada, they are wearing clothes that somehow speak of Poland. She said that it was important to her to buy new clothes in Canada so that she looked more Canadian as she walked around the shops and the streets. She did not want to stand out as different because of her clothing. And Guicing and Zhou[11] say that they are still wearing the clothes that they brought with them from China and they feel that these clothes make them look different from Canadian people. It seems that a particular style of clothing *speaks* something to those who recognize it. And in speaking of a place, some immigrants feel that the clothing discloses the fact that the people who wear it come from somewhere other than the country in which they are living. From my own experience as an Australian I am aware of our knowing that a man or woman must be from somewhere else, probably a European country, if he or she wears socks with sandals. This is something that

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[11] Zhou, a sensitive, deep-thinking man from China, came to Canada to obtain a Ph.D. and found that he had to stay because of the Tianamen Square incident in his home country. Zhou is reflective about his experience of finding himself a potential Canadian "landed immigrant." He often dwells on the difference between China and Canada, sensing a superficiality about the western lifestyle and trying to compromise this with the stifling political scene in China.

Australians just do not do and when we see it this style of apparel *speaks* to us! Additionally, a man can show himself as coming from Queensland rather than any other part of Australia if he wears dress shorts and long socks to work. In this case he must be a Queensland Public Servant! It is the manner of clothing that speak in these cases, showing that it "comes from" somewhere particular.

It seems that the things of home have a type of pull or sway about them that is totally independent of us and even in some way dominates us. The call of things is evident if we consider two expressions which we use in talking about things. If we listen attentively to the way in which we refer to things through the expressions "in the nature of things" and "the language of things" we indeed acknowledge that things have an existence in themselves:

> [W]e can still speak of a language of things when we remember what things really are, namely, not a material that is used and consumed, not a tool that is used and set aside, but something instead that has existence in itself and is not "forced to do anything," as Heidegger says. (Gadamer, 1976, p. 71-72)

Anecdotal theme: Home can be in the music of home

Guicing very rarely feels happy here in Canada. But once she heard something on the radio that drew her away from the life in Canada and evoked her sense of home: "One day I happened to tune the radio into a station which was broadcasting a piece of traditional Chinese music. I was about to do some work around the house at the time and my husband was busy working at his desk. But the music drew both of us away from what we were doing. We stopped and listened. We looked at each other and together quietly sat down. We hushed our son. We had heard that song many times in China but until that time we did not understand what it could mean to us.

It brought us home. It made me feel full and stable. When the music stopped I was very homesick because I experienced with more understanding how much I am missing while I live in this country. Another time that felt really good was at a party of a Chinese student. There were many Chinese students all about our age and someone had an electric piano. So we started to play Chinese music and we sang Chinese songs that we all knew. It was so nice to be able to know all the same songs as everyone else. We had a good time that night. At a Canadian party I went to one time there was also singing but I didn't know the songs and everyone else did. It felt so good to be able to talk about the things that we all knew about from our school and university days in China. Often when we are with Canadians we don't know the songs or the times that they are talking about. That makes me feel very shy and I can't join in the conversations."

Music has a propensity to recall home. It is tied to a place. We all know the experience of hearing a certain piece of music or song which has some special significance because of the place and time which it recalls:

> [U]nexpectedly, perhaps struck up by the chords of some Viennese folk-songs which happened to be playing on the phonograph in my study, I experienced, with no prior conscious intent or effort... a coming together (or falling together) of many otherwise diverse symbols and strands of experience in my own life. (Buckley, 1971, p. 199)

How is it that music can take hold of us in this manner? How can music stay within a particular place when we ourselves are no longer in the place to which the music refers us?

Things have a significance for us that we may lose if we try to artificially pull them apart from the world in which they are situated. Our relationship with the world is so profound that it is wrong to try and separate the things from ourselves in an objective type of explanation:

> The world is no conglomeration of mere objects to be described in the language of physical science. The world is our home, our habitat, the materialization of our subjectivity. Who wants to become acquainted with man, should listen to the language spoken by the things in his existence. Who wants to describe man should make an analysis of the "landscape" within which he demonstrates, explains and reveals himself. (Van Den Berg, 1972, p. 40)

The music that we hear has significance for us in its togetherness with our total landscape as body-in-world. The music consists in our togetherness with the place in which it was and still is.

Anecdotal theme: Empty streets

"There are not many people on the streets, empty streets. It's shock for me," said Eva. "I think this town is sometimes quite sad for me. Only cars - people leave home in cars, go shopping, get back in the car and home again. It is really astonished for me when we sometimes go out to a little group of homes and yards and these are empty too, there are not people. I can't feel any life. It is like architecture plan, model. I feel like I am living in this architect model. Because there are no people. When I have to walk anywhere I feel this. Even when we drive I feel strange, there are no people. I spoke about this with another person from Poland and she feel the same."

The space of the new country can be experienced differently than that of the home country. The streets, house design and shopping areas all have something to say to us about the place in which we live. Eva is uncomfortable with going outside the apartment on her own because of the vast distances involved in getting from one point to another. She said that she did not like to walk on the streets because of their emptiness, and not knowing very well her way around the city. The very distances in the space of the environment and the way in which it is used by the people speak a different "language" for many newcomers. She finds it strange that there are nothing but cars on the street, with very few people walking around.

Places and objects in the world are experienced according to the meaning which they hold for us. We have an *intentional* relationship to the things of the world, we cannot do or think anything except in terms of some *thing* (Husserl, 1970). For Eva and many other immigrants the space of the new country does not hold any meaning. They are not implicated in the life of the space and consequently it is experienced in a confrontational manner:

> [T]he new city was still to me as though denied and the unreponsive landscape spread its darkness as though I were not there. The nearest things did not bother to reveal themselves to me. The alley climbed to the street light. I saw how alien it was. (Rilke, cited in Relph, 1976, p. 51)

When we are used to living in a particular place our bodies *live* space. We *inhabit* the space of the home:

> My flat is, for me, not a set of closely associated images. It remains a familiar domain round about me only as long as I still have "in my hands" or "in my legs" the main distances and directions involved, and so long as from my body intentional threads run out towards it. (Merleau-Ponty, 1962, p. 130)

Even beyond the space of the house itself our bodies come to inhabit the space of the place in which we live. Inhabitation is what transforms a space into a place. A space is any space, but a place is somewhere we know through our bodies and through the language of the things of that place. A place is somewhere we inhabit, which means more than just to find oneself in a space:

> Being an initiative of the active body, inhabiting is an intention and not merely a fact of nature; it is not just to be somewhere, to find oneself somewhere but to *inhabit* a place... Incorporation is the initiative of the active body, embracing assimilating a certain sphere of foreign reality to its own body. In this sense, incorporation is essentially the movement from the strange to the familiar. (Lang, 1985, p. 202)

Body, house and city intertwine corresponding to processes of embodiment, inhabitation and civilization (Jager, 1985). The house, body and city do not merely occupy space and time but instead they generate them (p. 215). To come to dwell somewhere involves transforming "a world of confronted things, of objects inspected and judged, into a realm that is supportive of vision" (p. 219). For example blind people do not hold the stick as a foreign object, rather they use it as an extension of themselves and the stick is "flooded with the sensibility" of the body. The blind person's cane is paradagmatic of inhabitation.

For the newcomer to a country, space is not experienced in a way that is supportive of vision. Rather, space is like an object which confronts one in its difference from the space which they do inhabit still. To inhabit space requires time for habitation. Habitation comes from *habere*, to have. In-habitation is the outcome of *having* the things of the environment in a bodily way.

Theme three: Home is in the language of things

There are more things that speak to us of home, or being away from home, than the language of spoken words. Momentos, artifacts, paintings and crafts are among the things that recall home. And music can take us to a particular place, recalling the sense of the experience of that place. But the layout of the streets, buildings and homes can be reminders of being away from home when they confront us in their difference. The experience of things that recall home imply that *home is in the language of things*. Home is where we can feel "together" with people. What we see is commonly understood. It is through the things we observe and the way in which things are visible to us that we can be together with other (Van Den Berg, 1955, p. 57). What can teachers of English as a second language learn about the practice of their teaching from knowing that home can be recalled or missed through so many little things of everyday life?

It can be painful to be reminded of home when one is feeling vulnerable in a new country. But if the meaning of the things of home can somehow be brought to have meaning in the new country also, there is a possibility of integrating the experience of the two places. Perhaps there could be an extending and growing experience if the music of home and its meaning could be brought into the classroom. In this way teachers may help to create a space in the new country for the things from the home country. This could possibly be done with paintings, photographs and other momentos also. The classroom itself could come to speak of the home of its inhabitants. And the things from home may then come to be experienced as having a place in the new country. Additionally, teachers can help immigrants to become accustomed to the streets and the shopping centers which may at first appear alien by conducting excursions outside the classroom. In such ways teachers may help their students to become familiar with the language of things in the new country and help them to incorporate the language of the things from home into a new space.

Inhabitation comes through activity. We insert ourselves in a world and come to know it through the activity of making a home which involves taking care of a place which is felt to be ours. This may start within the boundaries of the house itself, however becoming at home requires activity which moves between the two poles of "centeredness" and "reach." Eventually immigrants, if they are to be at home in their new country, must reach outwards and find a way to actively come to know the outer world. "Habitation can be interpreted as the utilization of an 'implement' among implements" (Levinas, 1979, p. 152), however the real home is more than that since it is not an end in itself. "The privileged role of the home does not consist in being the end of human activity but in being its condition, and in this sense its commencement" (p. 152). Apparently, the expression "making a home" has some grounding in lived experience. Newcomers must *do* something in order to come to dwell in the new country. Hence, the next question, "What are you doing here?"

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1. Michael and Lindy Chamberlain's nine-week old daughter disappeared from their tent while they were holidaying at Ayer's Rock, a famous tourist attraction in the Australian outback. The parents claimed that the baby had been taken by a dingo, a native dog. At first, an inquest upheld their claims but "new forensic evidence" caused the case to be re-opened. The parents were then charged with murder and Lindy spent some years in jail. About four years later "further forensic evidence" raised doubts concerning the validity of the earlier forensic tests. Five years after the disappearance of their daughter Lindy was released from jail and she an Michael were exonerated of all charges. To this day the body of the baby has not been found.

CHAPTER FOUR

WHAT ARE YOU DOING HERE?

A newcomer to a country often gets asked the question, What are you doing here? It seems that in asking "What are you doing here?" there is the suggestion that since you don't belong here, there must be another reason for you to be here. One can't leave home and just *be* somewhere else. People do leave their own homes for a variety of reasons: vacation, conferences, work, schooling or re-settlement. If they meet and get into conversation with inhabitants they are inevitably asked the purpose of their visit. We are all curious as to the reasons for which some people make temporary or permanent breaks with their home ties, perhaps with a sense of wonder regarding what would be deemed important enough to initiate such a separation of oneself and one's foundations.

Indeed, immigrants themselves may privately wonder sometimes about their reasons for being somewhere, as did Lam when he first arrived in Canada: "We came to Canada because at that time Canada was accepting refugees. But I didn't know how the life in Canada was like. We went to Ottawa first and lived with a sponsor family. I was not very happy because I came in December so the first impression was snow and the cold weather. I did not like it at all. But besides that I did not have any family or friend or any knowledge about the country. I did not know what they were talking about. It was very scary when we first arrived in Ottawa. We looked around us and no Vietnamese people, all white people and we did not have any experience with white people before so we were nervous. I wanted to go home all the time because I didn't find any enjoyment or happiness. I found out that the country had a lot of freedom but at the time I was not working. I just stayed home all the time looking out. And all the bare trees and snow and not much to do so I was very sad. And I was thinking to myself, Why am I here?"

The hostility of the winter seems to confront people in its coldness, as Patricia[12] experienced: "We came to Canada because we were advised by lawyers that it was the best thing to leave the country because my husband had been put in jail for being 'subversive.' Until that time we had never thought to leave our country even though it is a war-torn country. We had the choice of Australia or Canada and we chose Canada because we thought it was closer. At least we could walk back home if we had to! But the weather, oh wow what a shock! I never imagined that something could be so cold. Over there people tell you or you see it on postcards or you see it on TV but you never imagine how cold it can be. When I came here it was in December and in El Salvador it is really nice then. Well the second day it started snowing and I started crying. I thought, What am I doing here? I thought winter was going to last for ever."

Neither Lam nor Patricia had any preconceived ideas of where they were going when they made the decision to leave their home countries. Therefore they could have little idea of where their lives were going. There was a strong need to leave Vietnam and El Salvador but they had little conception of where they were going *to*. Without any plans or goals to work toward in the immediate present of arrival, they could only look back to the past and the warmth of that security.

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[12] Patricia comes from El Salvador. She and her husband came to Canada to escape political persecution. A petite, vivacious lady, she exudes all the color, spontaneity and vibrancy that is often associated with a South American carnival. It is these very qualities of life that she sorely misses in Canada, however for her daughter's future she will remain here, now a single mother, her husband having returned to El Salvador.

Patricia and her husband chose Canada for its "closeness", relative to Australia, to El Salvador. However, their arrival found them much more distant than they expected. The land confronted them in its distance from what they were used to. Nothing of the environment *spoke* to them. Ironically, had they chosen Australia, which is geographically more distant, they may have found that it was the country which is "closer" to El Salvador. At least the climate is less distancing than it is in Canada.

Language, landscape and weather can be confrontational:

> When I first reached this country
> I hated it
> and I hated it more each year:
>
> in summer the light a
> violent blur, the heat
> thick as a swamp,
> the green things fiercely
> shoving themselves upwards, the
> eyelids bitten by insects
>
> In winter our teeth were brittle
> with cold. We fed on squirrels.
> At night the house cracked.
> In the mornings, we thawed
> the bad bread over the stove... (Atwood, 1976, p. 111)

The experience of the new country can be one of disagreeable alienation. It is harsh in its lack of familiarity.

Lam and Patricia disliked the strangeness of the bare trees and the cold of the winter. The things that Lam stared at had no meaning for him. They merely distanced him. There was no *meeting*, no conversational space for Lam or Patricia with the things of the landscape. The landscape accentuated distance from home and they were left wondering what they could do in the new country.

The answer to the question, What are you doing here? has much more significance for the lives of immigrants than the everyday sort of answer about work. The "making" of a home requires some kind of activity and by listening attentively to the way in which people describe their daily involvements and current life projects, it is possible to see what they are indeed doing.

Newcomers often strive to overcome aspects of the strangeness of their situation by making a space of their own in the place in which they find themselves. Even travellers may proceed to "make themselves at home" no matter in how limited a form this takes. The hotel room becomes the inner space to which they return after venturing into the city. It seems that the establishment of home (even if it is a temporary home) involves not only the "carving out of chaotic space a definite area set apart from the rest of the world" (Bollnow, 1961, p. 34), but also requires that one has a place from which to set forth and to which to return.

Anecdotal theme: The need to find a job

Basia is trying not to give up on the difficult task of finding employment: "I must find a job. Everyday I check the papers and make many phone calls but you know it is not easy. I heard that the Catholic Social Services may need to employ someone so I telephoned to them every day for two weeks until they asked me to come and see them. I think they thought they had to do something just so that I would stop phoning! But then I found that they wanted someone to do a cleaning work for some old people! I hoped to use my skills as a psychologist and maybe do some counselling.

But maybe I have to do this cleaning. I must do something."

In the case of immigration, the activity that the people are involved in is different from that of the other travellers. A traveller may say that he or she is studying, or attending a conference or simply on holiday. But immigrants seek to dwell, to live in the new country.

Settling and becoming at home are activities that are intimately connected, the former reflecting "the physical actions and adjustments necessary to turn an unknown environment into a home, while the latter reflects the required inner, psychological changes" (Seamon, 1985, p. 234). The settling stage is best represented by a certain type of *busyness* in one's attitude to the new land.

To obtain employment is a most significant factor in the lives of immigrants. A casual consideration of this aspect would result in one thinking that it is obvious that immigrants require work from a financial perspective. However, a closer examination indicates that employment perhaps has more significance for making a home than is at first apparent. Perhaps there is something in "making common cause together" (von Eckartsberg, 1979, p. 231) which is important for a new life with new people.

To build is inhered in the dwelling process. (Heidegger, 1971). To dwell is not an activity that humans do alongside other activities. Rather, to dwell is our way of being on the earth. An original meaning of the German verb *bauen*, which once meant to be or to dwell, has since receded to mean merely building in the sense of construction. The original meaning of *bauen* included the sense of preserving or taking care of the things. Consequently, the modes of building in the sense of construction and cultivation are "comprised within genuine building, that is, dwelling" (p. 147). By attentively listening to the language that has receded it is possible to hear the significance of building and dwelling. Building is really dwelling and dwelling is the manner in which mortals are on the earth. Building as dwelling unfolds into the building that cultivates growing things and the building that erects buildings (p. 148). Today, since many humans are removed from much of the activity of cultivation and construction, perhaps we turn to the activity of our employment to feel that we are involved in "building" something for and of this world. There does indeed seem to be a need for some kind of active involvement in the dwelling process.

The land itself played an important part in motivating immigrants of the 1880's towards dwelling. In that era, people were able to have a direct involvement with the land in that they were farmers: "An active involvement with one's physical environment is as an important element in reestablishing place as a sense of psychological security and interpersonal familiarity" (Seamon, 1985, p. 240). Land and future seem to have been significantly linked:

> ...They deny the ground they stand on,.
> pretend this dirt is the future.
> And they are right. If they let go
> of that illusion solid to them as a shovel,
>
> open their eyes even for a moment
> to these trees, to this particular sun
> they would be surrounded, stormed, broken
>
> in upon by branches, roots, tendrils, the dark
> side of light
> as I am. (Atwood ,1976, p. 84)

To let go of the belief in working for the future would leave the

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immigrants *groundless*, both literally and metaphorically speaking.

But in these days of work and technology most people do not have the opportunity to become directly active with the physical environment beyond that of the house itself. We live in times in which we are inclined to be alienated from the world. Technology has much to do with this condition. We tend to be withdrawn from the environment by the use of "devices" which come ready made and consequently do not need our involvement (Taylor, 1988). The modern objects of use have a certain effect on human beings; "the reality and reliability of the human world rest primarily on the fact that we are surrounded by things more permanent than the activity by which they are produced" (Arendt, 1958, pp. 93-94). The consequences of this for the establishment of a sense of "place" rather than mere space is apparently associated with the lack of involvement with the land and the things. As we human beings are more and more distanced from the activity of producing things which lend us meaning, the essential need for involvement in a "common cause" may be effected through employment; being employed becomes the means for establishing a sense of active involvement in community.

"I want to contribute something to the optical field here in Canada or in Vietnam. I just think my life just has sense when I contribute something in my field," said Huy. Martin[13], too, mentioned that having a job would make him feel better: "I feel a bit like an outsider because I haven't got a job. I think you can feel more like one of the community if you have a job." It seems that there is more significance to the need to find employment than merely financial considerations. One can contribute to the shared space of the country through being employed. Just as immigrants must actively make the house a home, so they must actively make their own space in the wider community.

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[13] Martin came from England, choosing Canada as a place to make a different life for himself. He thus differs from many of the immigrants I spoke with, since most people did not so much choose Canada as choose to leave their own country because of extenuating circumstances. Despite not having any significant language difficulties, Martin is experiencing his "difference" as an English man. His way of being-in-the-world leaves him feeling slightly alienated from the Canadian way of life.

Perhaps the fact of having a job within the community is the modern day equivalent of farming the land and being involved in the space of the new country: "With word and deed we insert ourselves into the human world and this insertion is like a second birth, in which we confirm and take upon ourselves the naked fact of our original physical appearance" (Arendt, 1958, p. 178).

Theme one: Becoming at home involves the activities of "building" and "dwelling."

"The need to find a job," "to be involved in the community," "to make a home," are incorporated in the theme, *Becoming at home involves the activities of "building" and "dwelling."* First, there is the need to build in the sense of making a living space into one's own, but to come to dwell in a place means to go beyond this space into the community. Further, to dwell means not only to set down "roots" or foundations, but to allow these roots to give one nourishment.

Learning a second language is an activity of building, but to come to dwell in the language is to come to a different level of experience. Many immigrants feel a degree of anguish when they experience the difficulty of learning the second language, feeling that they should make faster progress, or sound less foreign. Teachers may be able to help learners to realize that the second language may always be just that, a second language. The home of the first language is what lends the foundation of the second language, just as the home of the first country informs the activity of home-making in the second country. Learners must come to feel at ease with the extent to which they can appropriate the language, yet they should also be open to the way in which the new language may nurture their becoming. A person cannot remain the same after learning another language: "A person learns a new language and, as we say, gets a new soul... he becomes in that sense a different individual" (Mead, 1934, p. 156). The theme perhaps indicates that just as there is a need for activity to feel at home in a place, so there may be a need for activity in the experience of learning a language. But the activity that is required may be more than the practising of grammar and vocabulary. Rather, it is activity that allows individuals to carve a space for themselves. Too often, approaches to language learning allow learners to become almost passive learners in that they are taught pre-determined language from a text book or teachers' sentences. The type of language activity which may be more conducive to "building" and "dwelling" may require that learners themselves initiate the language to be learned. It is involvement and activity that helps a place to become home, so language learning should also perhaps leave more space for students to be involved and active in the "building" of the language.

Anecdotal theme: Waiting for the future

The people who are intent on settling occupy themselves with planning for the future, whereas those who have not come to terms with their future in the new country have more of a struggle in overcoming their loss of a sense of dwelling. Without a notion of what the future might hold for them, people may be merely waiting or "marking time" in the new country.

"I don't know what I will do. For sure I plan to spend some time studying by myself at home and I don't know, I sent my documents to the university and maybe they want to talk with me, maybe something can surprise me in the future. I'm not quite sure. I have thought about taking another course at Grant McEwan. But I still don't know what, maybe something new can happen after September. So now I don't know. I'd like to go to work too, I'd like to try maybe in a dental surgery as a dental assistant but I don't know. Right now I don't know anything about my near future. I'm waiting for my mum from Poland so her arriving would help me to do a lot of things here at home and then I could think about my future. Now everything is before (in front of) me. And I don't know when my mother can come here. It depends on a lot of things in Poland. She could come right now but she can't get a Canadian visa, maybe in October. I can't determine my plan."

Eva is taking one day at a time and not looking too far into the future. She is not sure quite what will happen or what she will do when both children are back at school. Eva seems to be waiting. She cannot see her future as having continuity with her past profession in Poland. There she was a dentist but here she has doubts as to whether she will ever be able to pursue her career due to language requirements. She seems to feel that her future right now is to an extent beyond her control, that she will just have to wait and see what happens.

Eva says, "I will spend some time studying." What does the use of the word "spend" tell us of her experience? When we "spend time" we are using it up, trying to get through the time that is in front of us so that we can get somewhere. We spend or pass time while we are waiting for something to happen. Many people wonder how they will spend their time while they have to wait for hours at an airport, or they wonder how they can spend their time while they await the big event at the end of the day. We do not usually ask people what they have been spending their time doing if we know that those people are busy. Spending time is something done when we are waiting for something else to happen. And in spending time we usually mark out bits of time as they pass: "Well, that's one day gone" or, "One more hour to go." Spending time and marking time have something in common in that both are experiences of waiting. In *Waiting for Godot*, when Estragon bewails the fact that night will not come, wondering torturedly "What will we do?" Wladimir suggests that putting on boots will help because it will pass some time.

Eva's experience of waiting is apparent in her need to spend some time. But her spending is not a useless spending. It is not a case of the type of spending of money which buys nothing worthwhile. It is spending in the sense of investing, investing in her future. There are different modes of waiting according to what is being waited for. The mode of waiting experienced by Eva is a "waiting in the world of becoming" (Fujita, 1985, p. 112). This mode of waiting does not necessitate a separation between productive operation and waiting. Rather, it excludes boredom in that it inheres a sense of waiting for the becoming of oneself.

Although Eva does not have any clear idea of her future, she nevertheless knows her future is in Canada and she feels that she must prepare herself for her opportunities. Unlike those who spend their time living in the past of the previous home because they cannot envisage a future in the present, Eva does tentatively hold on to her hopes of being a dentist again. She spends as much time as she can studying dentistry books written in English. This seems to be her own way of investing in the future. And we must look to the future:

> [W]e have then to accept an orientation also to the future and not only to "what happened" and "where we are now", though we must not ignore the facts of every day reality. (Langeveld, 1975, p. 11)

Leszek and Basia are busy preparing themselves in such a way to ensure that they find a job. Leszek spends as much time as he can reading English: "I have to think of daily needs so it is important to find a job but I think of my future too. I read ten, twelve hours every day. I do this for my job that I have now but also I read papers and I have subscription for journals, *Time*, *National Geography*. I don't have much money but I can spend this couple of dollars for these journals because this is my investment. That all the time I have money I put into books, papers because I know that if I improve my English then I will not have problems find job in my occupation. This is my plan, I would like to study here of course I will do this. So I spend much time reading and I buy many journals. This is my investment like I said."

An investment is a statement about one's belief in and hope for the future. When we invest money we are preparing for the future we anticipate. And we have the hope that the investment will pay its return. People do not make investments, either financial or otherwise unless they have an anticipation of their future.

Basia concerned herself with studying English in order to get a position in her own profession as a clinical psychologist. The first thing she did on arrival was enroll in three English courses and prepare to sit the TOEFL test which is the necessary requirement for further study.

The importance of having a sense of a future for the feeling of being at home can be seen in the contrasting attitudes George [14] has toward his life in Canada and the possibility that his homeland Poland offered: "I never felt like it was home in Poland because you couldn't plan for a future. It was so difficult to live every day and you could not see a future. Here I can see that I can have the future as much as I want. I can do it. I have made progress and still make progress to make this home. It is home, more than Poland. Every year as I get more English it will feel even more comfortable."

Eva, on the other hand, is merely "marking time" at the moment: "For me there is little progress right now. I'm only studying at home and I make a little bit more knowledge but it is tiny steps. The future that I want is a long way and right now I'm not thinking about it very much. I must work hard at English for a long time."

Although the people discussed above have a different sense of their own futures in the new country, there is the common element of looking towards the future, despite the apparent sense of waiting that discloses itself through the words of Eva. Even as we "spend time" we are aware that a future is coming towards us. However, while marking time or spending time there can be for some people the unsettling feeling of not being on the move to somewhere. Here, the mode of experiencing time is not the same as when one does feel on the move and one is actively going to meet the future. George can say he feels at home because he considers that he can see the possibilities of his future and he sees his present involvements as working toward the future he envisions. Eva, however, does not claim to feel at home. She cannot foresee the direction of her future.

---

[14] George is a pharmacist by profession but feels very glad to have obtained a position in a hospital as pharmaceutical assistant. As he reclined in his chair in his apartment he exuded a sense of being content, not only with where he is, but also with where he can go in the future.

We sometimes experience a disrupted relationship to time, to our own experience of past, present and future. Beckett's drama, *Waiting for Godot* shows that the crux of the confusion of one of the situations seems to be an inaccessible future:

> [T]here is no secure hold on the future, there is no waiting for or anticipation of the future in the sense that the future is open to one as the sphere of one's life and action except in a very deprived fashion. (Kruger, 1979, p. 59)

An emptiness of time consists in there being a form of time where the future is not accessible and the past not significant. When this occurs there can only be a question of passing the time, of waiting. Eva's past life as a dentist has little significance now since her qualifications are not recognized, and she cannot really see her own future.

A teenager experiences the future-less experience of time when her parents immigrated to the United States from Poland:

> I can't afford to look back, and I can't figure out how to look forward. In both directions, I may see a Medusa, and I already feel the danger of being turned into stone. Betwixt and between, I am stuck and time is stuck within me. Time used to open out, serene, shimmering with promise. If I wanted to hold a moment still, it was

> because I wanted to expand it, to get its fill. Now, time has no dimension, no extension backward or forward. I arrest the past, and I hold myself stiffly against the future; I want to stop the flow. As a punishment, I exist in the stasis of a perpetual present, that other side of "living in the present" which is not eternity but a prison. I can't throw a bridge between the present and the past, and therefore I can't make time move. (Hoffman, 1989, pp. 116-117)

Our lived experience of waiting, spending time and marking time can be informed by the consideration of the way in which adults help young children cope with waiting for something important in their lives. Without a good sense of measured time, children have trouble understanding how long they may have to wait for Santa Claus or grandma to arrive. We may tell them that after seven "sleeps" the time for which they are waiting will arrive. In this way we give them something concrete with which they can measure the time and mark off the time that passes.

Patricia is sometimes overwhelmed by the thought of a "forever" future in Canada. She has to deal with the future piece by piece. At these times she tells herself that she is here in the same manner as those on a scholarship: "I try to see that I have some sort of scholarship here, I'm only temporary. I try to see it in that way so that I don't get too depressed and I can feel like I can go back. I try to tell myself I'm here for study and then for three or four years and then I can go back and then, and then. But we have a saying '*Never say I won't drink of that water because you may get thirsty and you may end up drinking that water.*' It's related to '*Never say Never.*' So I don't say too much. I don't know."

Eva and Patricia feel more positive about becoming at home than Guicing who does not look to the future at all. Instead, she continues to live in her past.

Anecdotal theme: Looking back

When Guicing came to Canada she fully expected to be returning to China when her husband's study was over. But the incident in Tianamen Square occurred and she and her husband found that their road home was blocked: "I liked the idea of being here a couple of years, it's a good chance for us to know western world, western people. But since last June when Tianamen happened in China it's hard for us to go back. So we have to stay at least a couple more years than we planned. So I don't like to become a permanent resident because I can't get the job that I like here. They won't recognize my teaching qualification. So I never can teach in the school. Here, I work as a cleaner so I use my hands, but not my brain, so when I work I always think about something from early childhood before, the life, the work, the friends, the relatives, maybe places I have been. Almost everyday we talk about something. I lived in China for more than thirty-five years so most of my memories are of the experience when we were in China. In China we had a future, we had worked for a retirement pension, but not here. I think both of us if something happen in China it's much better to go back. But now we can't, especially for him it's not safe. They won't allow him to say anything what he wants. But we still feel maybe some day we can go back. For us we really think we're living in another country. Sometimes I feel maybe it's just temporary here. Just like when I were on business in China in another city and I live in apartment, I feel the same way. If there is any chance, we will go back."

Guicing constantly talks about and thinks about her past in China and she therefore cannot think about making a future for herself in Canada. And consequently she is not at home here since the lived time of being at home needs a future that builds into the present. Lived present of everyday life contains a future which comes to meet us in the present:

> The future is: *that which comes, as it comes to meet me now*. The future is *'to come'*... Past and future are not two absolutely separated regions touching at a highly remarkable zero-point, the name of which is the *present*. Both have a *present* value, they lie contained in the present moment. The past is that which was as it appears to me today, the future is that which comes as it comes to meet me now. (Van den Berg, 1970, p.71)

In a state of uncertainty about a future we may take ourselves back home, however this results in a future-less experience of time since the future of the home country has been denied in the parting from the country.

It is important to meaningfully integrate past, present and future:

> The unification of past, present and future obviously hinges upon a meaningful structure of personal time, and the need for this synthesis is appropriatley a central feature of the adolescent identity crisis as characterized by Erikson... To formulate a coherent plan for his adult life, the adolescent must examine what he is and clarify what he would like to become. (Gorman and Wessman, 1977, p. 32)

A self-realizing person lives predominately in the present and can see his or her future tied meaningfully to the present. In this way, the person can make realistic plans for the near future and work toward them in the present. Guicing has no experience of a future in her new country and so she really does not plan for it, hoping instead to escape and return home.

Although a sense of having a future is an important aspect of being "at home," it is also important to see the future in terms of one's past. To try to sever the past and discredit its significance means that the immigrant may lose the "groundstone for creating a new place of dwelling" (Seamon, 1985, p. 228). Successful immigration requires that one reconcile memories of dwelling with the expectation of the "journey" in the new country. Zhou is experiencing a severance from his past, feeling that who he was in China has no importance to who may be in Canada.

Anecdotal theme: Starting over again

Zhou's experience of Canada changed with the incident in Tianamen Square. Since he had been active in demonstrations in Canada it was dangerous for him to return to China and he had to begin to think of Canada in terms of somewhere to settle in the long term instead of merely as a place to study for a few years: "When Tianamen Square happened it seemed that my connection with home was severed. Then I realized that there are a lot of valuable things missing here. At first I needed home in the sense of friendships and a private space. Then home was the intimacy of my relationship with my wife and son. Then I realized, after Tianamen, that home was still missing. Now I feel that I miss my past. My wife feels the same. We have a home together here now but we still miss home! I was established in my career and life in China and here I feel like I'm starting all over again. I feel the stress of my age. I used to think that my English was quite good and now I feel it is so bad. When I listen to my tape-recordings I just hate my voice. Such a strong accent, the whole thing I find defect with. Now since I decided to settle down here I feel I have to make myself sound like a native speaker. I worry about getting a job in my own field which is ESL. They don't need people like me to teach English here. I know I have to make a future here now but I don't know how I'm going to do that."

Zhou seems to feel alienated from the person he was in the past. His dislike for his own voice and his sense of loss of the past life of home in China have left him feeling very disconnected as a person. His whole experience of himself is now different. Now that he has to consider living in Canada his notions of becoming at home also embrace language *at homeness*. Not only does he need to settle here as an inhabitant, he feels he has to inhabit the language in the same way as native speakers. To speak with a foreign accent seems for Zhou to imply a lack of inhabitation.

Zhou feels a lot of pressure from his experience of his age and his experience of having to start all over again to establish himself and his career. "My whole life, my whole world inside was still that world in China. So now the past seems to be cut and I have no connection with it. Before I came I was the Chairman of the English Department in the university. Now I don't know what I can do. In the academic circle here I feel there's no place for me. What I learned in China is nothing. My experience is nothing. My past is separated from me. The things that I thought I could do, now I can't.

Zhou's story is one of starting all over again. He seems to feel that he has become a child again in that he does not know the things of significance to the new culture. He himself likened his experience in the new country to a time in China when he was a teenager and had to go to work in the countryside away from the life he knew: "In China I had some similar difficulties sometimes. When I finished the school I went to the countryside. The first time I was really in this society independently and then I found my knowledge was too little. I had a lot of stress at that time too. And now sometimes I wonder if I'm in that stage now - coming back from teenager. At that time I was eighteen and it was also like a foreign society. At that time I had something like this. The knowledge is quite different. Like all the things I know in China is not thought of very well here and I feel very ignorant. At that time too. I graduated from high school and we were called educated. But we found the values are so different. So in that environment people value how to do the farm work so they all teased us because we can't do anything. And our knowledge seems to be nothing from school. And if we talk about school people would feel that you are stupid. Also things like human relationships were different. I had never had experiences like that in my family. We had only a small family I had only a sister. It was very different in the country. But also because my family was very different to many Chinese families. I found that not only the farmers laughed at me but the people from the city did too. I didn't know how to call different people who were older or younger. My family is from South China and they didn't know much about the North China way and so they didn't give me very much knowledge on how to do these things. So I had to learn that if you go to a friend's home you have to call their parents in a certain way and the grandparents in a different way. I mixed them up and they all laughed at me. A lot of things like that. Psychologically I'm feeling a lot of things similar to that period of time."

Patricia had to leave El Salvador just before she graduated as a teacher. She now has no creditation for her study. She feels that leaving her country also involved leaving an aspect of her identity. There were many things concerning her identity as a person that were lost to her on her arrival in Canada: "I find that there is some sort of loss of identity. Like I came here and all of a sudden I'm nobody. Over there if I went to the university for example, or some job, people would know, 'Oh its the daughter of so and so' (I don't mean like titles) but people know she's the friend of so and so or the daughter or whatever but here you're just a number. It's that feeling that I have. It takes time to gain again the confidence, it takes time to start. Because this is what we do really is start all over again. Find what you're going to do here, what real possibilities you have here. We feel that in my country I was a teacher I was whatever, and then here you're nothing because you need all these papers, you need to fit the system."

By considering the essential characteristics of childhood it is possible to realize the problem for immigrants who experience a sense of infantalization in their second country. A child has no strong sense of past, life is still a project of becoming and choice. However, an adult has a longer past and in order to change there has to be a certain amount of undoing of the past. Zhou refers to this himself by saying that he has to change. He feels that the things he has known are of little value to him now. The metaphor of childhood that Zhou is living is one which has come to be lived in the western world, (and it follows that this applies to any individual or country that "buys into" the Western stance). Childhood is seen as a construction of an ideology of adulthood (Nandy, 1987). This construction serves to further the interest of dominating structures by emphasizing adulthood as completed socialization: "The result is the frequent use of childhood as a design of cultural and political immaturity, or it comes to the same thing, inferiority" (p. 57). It seems that this construction of childhood is the way in which Zhou experiences himself in his new country. He feels inferior in that his knowledge is undervalued and his past has been discounted.

Leszek refers to his past being discounted. He tells of not being legally allowed to call himself a psychologist in Canada. "I went to the board and I said I wanted to get information about working as a psychologist. Their first sentence was 'You can't call yourself a psychologist.' Because it is the law because I don't have their certificate, and I said 'OK. Tomorrow I will go to Europe and I can say I'm a psychologist. And the day after I will be back here and I'm not a psychologist anymore. I'm not complaining that this kind of certificate I have to wait for to practice but don't say that I'm not a psychologist anymore.' Because I am a psychologist! I was, I am and I will be a psychologist!"

One's resumé tells of one's past, what one has done and to a certain extent who one is through what the person has become. It is difficult to have your resumé denied its authenticity: "When I first came I made my resumé and, of course, it said lots of things about what I did in El Salvador. So what? The employer says, 'So what? It is not valid here.' How can they know that I really did those things because I could just say that, lies. Who can assure them that I'm telling the truth?"

This is a graphic example of the way in which one's past can be effectively wiped out. One's resumé is one's life experience as a working adult and when an immigrant is told that this experience is irrelevant to who they are now, or what they would like to become, this past is no longer there for them. It is like taking some "white-out" or pressing the delete button over the pages of one's life. In this instance immigrants do indeed have to start all over again. It is as if they are again children with an almost blank record of experience.

The paradox for Zhou and Leszek is that although they are in one sense feeling like children in that their past has been denied and they are expected to start over again, on the other hand both men feel the pressure of their age. They both spoke of the difficulty in catching up to the Canadians and feeling that their age means they have to work twice as hard and twice as fast as local people in their employment field. The lived experience of children is rarely, if ever, one of feeling the pressure of age and feeling time slipping by too quickly. It seems that in speaking of feeling like they have become children again, it is not the essence of childhood to which they are referring but the construction of childhood as inferiority of development. That is, they are living the constuction of childhood to which Nandy (1987) refers.

Anecdotal theme: Catching up

"A lot of things I didn't bother about in China. The new culture of the young generation, pop songs, movies etcetera. But here I believe I need to know those things. But one thing, I can't go to many movies because I can't do it financially. I often talk to my wife and say we need to do these things, go to restaurants and movies. If not we're still Chinese and can't survive. I feel this pressure very strongly. I feel strongly I need to meet this gap. I think some magazines and bad quality newspapers teach people a lot about those things. I think a lot of people share this knowledge in this society. I need to know something of that."

Zhou feels the pressure of time in the sense of the need to learn all about the culture of the country. He feels he has a lot of catching up to do in his understanding of the culture of the Canadian society. He wants to fill in the gaps in his understanding of "local" knowledge.

"I give myself a lot of tasks to be like the people here. I like to share the same things they have. I don't mean materially, but what they know I want to know, for example Meech Lake. I read the newspaper and try to talk to people about those things. I don't believe I had such interests before I decided to settle down here. Some people I know have some computer games, and one of the games they have a test and prove you're above eighteen. I tried and I couldn't pass that test. I'm not over eighteen in this culture. I think it was mostly about the history and culture of western society. I'm really a child because the program proved I'm a child. I feel strongly I need to meet this gap in what I know."

His outlook on the future was still one of experiencing the strain of having to try to catch up to where he was before he left China. "Age is another pressure. When I was young I was quite malleable, you can be made into different shapes but now I'm thinking I have been shaped already do I really have that potential to be shaped again? I doubt about it sometimes. And other times I think that I still could. I'm always in that struggle. Sometimes I try to make myself feel like the age of seventeen. I can do whatever I like. But often I'm feeling I'm quite old. So I'm often thinking if I can change now."

Zhou's talk of trying to change himself indicates that he feels he must try and deny the person he was before he came to Canada in order to become another person. However, one worldview does not need to negate the possibility of a differing one. It is possible to learn a new "language-world" without the requirement that one forget the past knowledge. Every linguistic nuance that exists for objects is not an indication of the relativization of the world:

> [E]ach worldview can be extended into every other. It can understand and comprehend, from within itself, the "view" of the world presented in another language. Thus, we hold, the fact that our experience of the world is bound to language does not imply an exclusiveness of perspectives. If, by entering foreign language-worlds, we overcome the prejudices and limitations of our prevous experience of the world, this does not mean that we leave and negate our own world. Like travelers we return home with new experiences. Even if we emigrate and never return, we still can never wholly forget. (Gadamer, 1989, p. 448)

To come to be at home somewhere does not necessitate forgetting the past. Rather, it is an integration that must take place. It involves reflection on the world view that one previously had, reflection on the newly presented world view and reflection on the world that is disclosed in the merging of the two.

"Of course I could find a simple job at a gas station for surviving at five dollars an hour," said Leszek, "but I know that each week in this kind of job I'm losing not this week, I'm losing time. Because I would like to work in my occupation. And I'm not a teenager and for me time is running faster than for immigrants of eighteen or twenty. I have to, because I'm not born here, I have to work and do everything faster than the people born here. Like Canadians born here who graduated from university it's much easier to get a job and then work. For me it is more difficult because I have to show everybody that I'm at least good like people with the same profession from here. It's magic word here, 'Canadian experience.' I have to work twice harder and faster than Canadians here because they say I'm not a psychologist anymore when I come here. One day I had a meeting with a couple of psychologists here and one guy read a report which mentioned that a client got a Wechsler test. And he said to me 'Do you know the Wechsler test?' I said that I learned about the

Wechsler test in my first year of university. You see, his mentality is that only people in North America know what is the Wechsler test and that people from other country, even with Master degree, they don't know this. Time for me is running faster and people in my age who are born here are much further because I started to do this behind them. It's like travel in field, competition. I have to run faster. What I mean is I have to learn more, I have to spend my weekends in the library reading and studying. I have to do this because I said if I do this right now I can have hope for my job in the future."

Lezcek has to chase time in order to catch up with the Canadians in his field of work. It is difficult for professionals from overseas to continue their profession in Canada because of the demands of professional boards and the hoop of the TOEFL test. However, Leszek feels that it is best to work towards the goal of being employed as a psychologist because the longer he stays away from the field the harder it is for him to prove his worth in the area.

Leszek's simile about competition in the field discloses another angle to the consideration of the poles of home and horizon, center and reach which were discussed in the first chapter in relation to home and place. Here the notions are associated with activity, but again have something to do with space. It seems that the activity involved in establishing themselves in their new space is related to a balance between the centeredness of home and the reach of horizon. The activities of starting all over again and catching up with others imply a beginning point and a movement toward a horizon. In Leszek's simile about field competition there is the intertwining of space and activity.

Leszek recognized that there are some things he needs to alter about the way he may deal with Canadian people, stressing however that there are certain things he will not appropriate: "There are differences. For example, I have to take the habit of phoning to people to make appointments to see them. I can't change that, it is a big part of the way they do things in this country. But some other things I don't like. Shopping. I don't like the way the people like to spend so much time shopping. It's like a hobby. For me I don't need all these things. And I don't want to change myself and go the same way. But it doesn't mean I will not be a part of society. I will be a part of this society. But I don't need to go and buy twenty-eight inch color television. But I will always know that I think a little bit differently to the major part of society."

Both Leszek and Zhou are having some difficulty in integrating their past with their present and future lives. Zhou feels he needs to make a complete break with his past and change himself as a person in a significant way. Leszek on the other hand recognizes that there are particular things about his way of dealing with aspects of society which will need to be altered but he is not considering changing anything major about his way of being-in-the-world.

Theme two: Being at home is an integration of what we know with where we are going

The experiences of "waiting for the future," "looking back," "starting over" and "catching up" are incorporated in the theme, *Being at home is an integration of what we know with where we are going.* Life at home flows with a continuity that is largely imperceptible. Generally, the future comes to us without us thinking that we have to start all over again, or catch up with others who are "ahead" of us. Rarely do we experience a severance from the past, a past that informs the future. And at home we generally have a plan. Time without a plan is time without any content (Van Den Berg, 1955). Immigrants need to find a way to make plans for themselves in the new country, thus allowing some substance and future into their lives. How may ESL teachers help immigrants who are experiencing a severance from their past and how to help them realize the necessary integration of past and future?

The intention of ESL pedagogy is not to subordinate the first language. Neither is the intention to subordinate the stock of knowledge that learners bring with them. Each person has life-experiences to inform one's present life and teachers should try to utilize these experiences in everyday classroom activities. Teachers can be alert to pedagogic moments (Van Manen, 1991) where a tactful understanding can turn a situation into a positive learning experience. People need a sense of hope, of goals and purpose in life. There is the possibility of discussing plans in the classroom context. A sensitive teacher may be able to turn moments into "pedagogic moments" by allowing learners to see that their way of knowing and their way of acting need not be something only of the past. The way of knowing things of the world can differ from culture to culture, but each way of knowing can inform one's own knowing. The ESL classroom has the propensity to utilize many world-views, thereby not only showing each individual that his or her way of knowing is valid, but also extending the world-view of every class member.

Anecdotal theme: Trying to learn

When we are at home we may need to practise skills for our jobs, practise the piano or practise some aspect of our sporting interest. Language, however, is not considered a skill to be acquired in this way. Yet, for many immigrants practising language is their major activity. It is a big part of the answer to the question, What are you doing here?

For immigrants, language does become a skill that has to be acquired and consequently practised. In thinking about language in this way it is immediately distanced from us. It becomes something "out there" that needs to be grasped: "I still have to learn. My English to me is still not good enough because there's still a lot of things, a lot of Canadian expressions that I still have to learn. So I still keep learning my English. But now from reading books or conversations with people."

For Fong, language is a series of expressions. Once he has understood these expressions he will be more able to cope with the language. Indeed this will probably be the case, but will he be any more at home in English than he is at present? He may have come to understand more of the "parts" of the language, but is understanding the parts of the language all there is to being a speaker of a language?

To learn a second language does not mean to learn a corresponding system of signs for the knowledge which one may already have. This aspect is only part of the story. Rather, "to learn a language is to increase the extent of what one can learn" (Gadamer, 1989, p. 442). Gadamer shows that language comes into being as language through dialogue and therefore coming to an understanding through conversation:

> This is not to be understood as if that were the purpose of language. Coming to an understanding is not a mere action, a purposeful activity, a setting up of signs through which I transmit my will to others. Coming to an understanding as such, rather, does not need any tools, in the proper sense of the word. It is a life process in which a community of life is lived out. (p. 446)

Conversations with people may be conceived of as a sort of training ground for learning English. Fong no longer feels that an English course will help him. He gets more from books and conversation. It is within the context of the notion of "getting more from" conversations and books that we can consider more deeply the understanding of language whereby it is seen as something to be grasped. The prevalent thought in the language teaching context is one which perceives language as something to be taken hold of. It speaks of the idea of being able to take from the total source of language enough of what one needs to function at the level desired. It speaks of a source of language from which it is possible to extract the desired tools. It is an instrumental view of language. It will never allow for dwelling within language.

Humans dwell in language (Heidegger), but to dwell authentically requires a certain kind of building. The type of building which allows for dwelling does not simply mean "construction," nor does it refer to the verb "construction." Building and dwelling come about through a full and genuine living. It considers the whole context and is a kind of thinking or recalling of what it means to be human and be together with the fourfold, the earth, the sky, the divinities and the mortals (Heidegger, 1971, Ch. 4). Dwelling is a kind of living and thinking which recalls our limits as mortals. The other kind of building and dwelling forgets the limits of our possibility as humans and is manifest in the technocratic, instrumental mind-set. Relating this to language, it is possible to see that an instrumental approach to language will not result in dwelling in language. It is of the same activity as building a construction with a means-end approach, whereas building which results in dwelling has a notion of investing in the fourfold. In genuine dwelling, a place possesses the human because one experiences indebtedness to that place. Many second language teaching methodologies approach language as something which can be possessed. They do not allow that as speakers of a language it may possess us.

Language is a source of many meanings. One word does not do equally well for another if a person is aware of the intimate nuances of word meanings:

> I search for the right shade of pearly pinkish shell I found on the beach as if my life depended on it, and to some extent it does. I can't live forever in a windy, unfurnished imagination; I have to make a comfortable habitation there, fill it with a few household things, some comfy, everyday objects, maybe a beveled lamp. I have to add a bottom to the language that I learned from the top. (Hoffman, 1989, p. 217)

Being forgetful of the depth of language implicates people into the perception of language as a means to an end as Huy's words indicated: "I am still concerned about my language but at the moment I don't have much time to prepare for tests. Actually I can't spend much time preparing for TOEFL. I know that my weakest point in English is listening comprehension because every time I took the TOEFL test my weakest point was listening comprehension. So I try to improve this by watching news on television regularly every day."

Huy has a technocratic approach to language learning. He is working toward his language improvement by breaking the skills down into smaller components of discrete abilities. Huy is aware that the TOEFL test is a formal type of threshold for him and it is not the only reason for his desire to improve his language. He also wants to use the language to "get into" the culture: "I know that English is very important for me when I want to settle in Canada and I want to get into the culture of the country and there's not another way but improve the language. I want to know the culture. Just communicate is not enough. I still want to find out the philosophy or culture. I think the language is the only tool I can get into that."

Zhou feels the need to keep practising English, in particular pronunciation: "When I started learning English I paid great attention to pronunciation. After two or three years I no longer paid attention to that. I thought it was good enough. And then I concentrated on comprehension. But now since I decided to settle down here I feel I have to make myself sound like a native speaker. And then I started to listen to myself, I hate this voice. I used to enjoy my English, I thought it was good but now I hate it. And then I was thinking of the best way to improve it. It seems that the conventional ways, to talk to people, to have more contact with people, may not solve the problem. I'm thinking about using the same technique I used when I started tape-recording some very good English and follow the sounds. I want to get rid of my accident [sic] but I read a lot of research and it's almost impossible. But I will do my best to get rid of my accent. This is a very large project for me."

"I must work hard at English for a long time." These are the words of Eva who wants to go back to her profession of dentistry. She has to pass the TOEFL test to gain entry to university and thereby do the courses which she must do to be recognized as a dentist in Canada. The idea of working hard at English again has the notion of instrumentality about it. It is a way of living with language that has no commonality with the way we live the language of our home country.

Learning English is often understood as a case of practising grammatical terms as Basia implied: "Of course I need to sit more and have a plan and read more and do something with my learning. Still a lot of holes in my knowledge. And my language is not improving now because I speak only Polish. I watch television but I can't watch without blaming myself that I waste my time I can't find anything interesting on the television. You can watch the news only once. After a few months you know all the words and structure of sentences that you can hear on the news. Even if I find something interesting I think, Is my language improving with this? I must improve my grammar and I must sit and do some exercises. I have to do a lot of writing. I understand everything but it's worse with my speech and my writing is really bad."

The way in which immigrants may consider language differs from the way we live with language as native speakers. We do not use language to get into the culture, we are in the culture because we are in the language. Language uses us to disclose our culture:

> [W]e are always situated within traditions, and this is no objectifying process - i.e., we do not conceive of what tradition says as something other, something alien. It is always part of us, a model or exemplar, a kind of cognizance that our later historical judgement would hardly regard as a kind of knowledge but as the most ingenuous affinity with tradition. (Gadamer, 1989, p. 282)

Anecdotal theme: Parties and practice

Many sorts of social activities that we do in our home country for the purpose of recreation or relaxation take on a different meaning for immigrants. To watch television must have the instrumental purpose of language learning as Basia and Huy mentioned. Leszek's reading has the intentional activity of language learning built into the reading. Going to parties or social gatherings is done with an instrumental intention sometimes too. Alice[15] spoke of how she and her husband try not to pass up the offer of a party or social gathering because there is the opportunity to learn more about Canadian ways. And Huy joined a soccer club and a Church so that he could increase his opportunity to meet and mingle with more Canadians, thus giving himself the chance to learn more English within social settings.

The discussion of what immigrants are doing in their new country indicates that there is the felt need to be doing something. The phenomenon of "immigrant energy" which it has sometimes been called nevertheless may be driven by a kind of "desperado" mentality (Hoffman, 1989, p. 157). It implies that there is a pre-reflective awareness of the need to *build* their lives in the new country. There is the need to have a future and have some investment in the country. Nevertheless, the work of practising English and obtaining employment are perhaps not on the journey to dwelling, if Heidegger's thesis of what it is to dwell is accepted. These are technocratic viewpoints. Considered in the modern lifestyle that we live today perhaps it is only in language that we have the possibility of authentic dwelling. Our technocratic approach to building and dwelling with ready-made things implies that it is not only immigrants who have a *space* to live in rather than a *place*. We are all possibly homeless in Heidegger's sense of dwelling. Except in language. As Merleau-Ponty has said, "man is at home in language" (1973, p. 110).

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[15] Alice is a soft-spoken wife and mother of two. She comes from Uganda which she left for political reasons. She enjoys her community-oriented work, but is somewhat bitter about not being able to use her education degree. She spoke of the prejudice she and her children have encountered, saying that if the political life of Uganda stabilized they would return.

Theme three: The language of home does not need to be practised.

The anecdotal themes, "Trying to learn" and "Parties and practice" are indicative of a different language experience than that of language use when one is at home. At home we are not conscious of practising our language while watching television or having a conversation at a party: *The language of home does not need to be practised.*

But many immigrants are always practising their language and so a home-like feel to language is not possible. Yet this is not to suggest that practising is something that should not be undertaken. Indeed, it is important to practice speaking and listening to the language, and to do so in as many authentic situations as possible. But it is important for teachers and learners of language to understand that to approach language as something which can be grasped and practised will not succeed in making learners become at home in the language. To have a sense of the parts of a language, is not the same as to have a sense of the whole. There is a contextual way of being with language which defies the activity of practising vocabulary or grammar. To learn a language is somewhat akin to moving into a new space. We do not memorize the position of the tables and chairs in order to know our way around them. But gradually, after a period of having to look out for the table lest we bump into it, our body comes to know the way around it. Further, the space gradually acquires a *feel* to it that is familiar - we come to know when something has been moved even before we see what it is that has been moved. To know a space in this way is to inhabit it. Likewise with language. At first there is the need to practice, but to inhabit it will not come about through practice - it is a different way of knowing the language. The language must take possession of the speaker, not the speaker take possession of the language. It is only when the practising stops that learners will feel something more akin to a home-like quality in language.

When we have known something or someone for a long time we become familiar in our relationship to the person or object. Our way of being with "things" changes over time. "Things" can become incorporated into our very being so that the way we are with them is no longer a matter of deliberative consciousness, however it takes time for this to occur. Thus, the next question, How long have you been here?

CHAPTER FIVE

HOW LONG HAVE YOU BEEN HERE?

Once people have established where newcomers come from and what they are doing, the next question is usually to establish the length of time the person has been in the new country. Is the question merely a conversational piece or is there an awareness of the importance of time in the life of the newcomer?

It takes time for transplanted "roots" to become established. When a plant is transplanted its roots initially function to maintain life in a very tentative manner, there is usually a period of time when we wonder if the plant is going to make it. Its life is in limbo. The etymology of the word limbo reveals that it comes from the Latin *limbus*, meaning *hem*, *selvage* or *fringe* (Hood, 1986). It is "a place for people and things forgotten, cast aside, out of date" (Barnhart, 1988). It has also been used to refer to the region on the border of hell. Early life in a new country can indeed possess an element of being-in-limbo, of feeling on the fringe of things: "Sometimes we feel isolated from the society, even (though) the people are real kind to us. I don't feel comfortable," said Guicing.

Time is required to feel established. Initially our roots are not deep, they have not woven themselves into the very fabric of the society. So when people ask newcomers how long they have been here, perhaps they are trying to gauge the extent to which the person has become familiar (part of the "family") with the ways, the spaces and the people. Time is also required to feel comfortable with others. At home we know what to expect of people, we know the appropriate behaviour for given situations.

However, the sense of safe familiarity is left behind when home is left. The feeling of being on the outside of things, of being on the fringe was expressed by Lam. "It was very scary when we first arrived in Ottawa. We looked around us and no Vietnamese people, all white people and we did not have any experience with white people before so we were nervous. At Ottawa airport we just stood there and we didn't know where to go. Then a white lady came up with a big sign and our names on it. She said something but I didn't understand so she made a signal for us to follow her."

One does not need to come from a non-English speaking country to experience this outsideness, as disclosed by a Canadian girl who lived in Australia for a while: "When I woke up to my first morning in Julia Creek I could hear the voices of the nurses going to and from the showers as they got ready for the dayshift. I couldn't understand a complete sentence of their exchanges even though it was English they were talking. (Still half asleep, I glanced at the mosquito netting on the desk and wondered what it was for.) Their language was just as strange after having been introduced; my attempts to join the chatter were met with alternating sympathetic explanations and outbursts of laughter. I felt like an extra-terrestial being after a while, and listened in mute horror, not understanding, to their stories."

The feeling of being outside the mainstream can occur in many situations where one does not know the taken-for-granted rules and behaviours of the people around. It is from this position of feeling outside that the immigrant must begin the quest to make a new home.

In the phrase "making a home" there is the implied sense of a need for *progress*. If we are making something, the thing we are making is *in* *progress*, we are *advancing towards* something, and finally we *arrive* at a destination. All these notions indicate a journey. The process of making a home involves a journey. And a journey is a break with the familiar:

> Journeying requires that we leave behind the treasures of our heart, the luxury of being *surrounded* by the sounds and sights of the dwelling-place; it takes us away from the cushions of familiarity and exposes us to the stones of danger, to hard tests of endurance, to the inclemency of the weather, the treachery of barbarians, the embarrassment of unknown languages, laws, customs. The journey breaks us loose from the self-evident, the habitual, the familiar, the reoccurring. (Jager, 1975, p. 251)

For immigrants, the journey is not over on arrival in the new country. They must proceed beyond. And *journey* (from the Latin *diurnus* meaning *daily, day's work*), implies time. Time is required to travel the distance, both in a concrete and a metaphoric sense. The end of the journey is to return home and see the home afresh. "Making a home" does indeed consist in a journey. Perhaps the question "How long have you been here?" means "How far along the journey are you?"

When we live our daily lives at home we know where we are going and we know this through our bodies. We can walk around our home "blindfold." We know the direction in which we have to travel. Our bodies can get us from point A to point B while our minds are occupied with other matters. We *inhabit* the space of the home:

> My flat is, for me, not a set of closely associated images. It remains a familiar domain round about me only as long as I still have "in my hands" or "in my legs" the main distances and directions involved, and so long as from my body intentional threads run out towards it. (Merleau-Ponty, 1962, p.130)

However, when we arrive in a new place it takes time to know our way around. We don't usually feel at ease with where we are going until we know the directions so well that our bodies tell us the way to go, until our legs can lead us in the right direction. Perhaps part of the question, How long have you been here? is, Are you bodily here yet?

Anecdotal theme: Continuing the journey

Eva has difficulty with getting around outside the house: "I spend more time in my apartment than I did in Poland. Because it is so difficult to get around without a car. I don't have driver's licence because I didn't need it in Poland. But here it takes so long time to go anywhere on the bus because everything is so far."

Not being confident enough to go around the city alone, or feeling that it requires too much effort to do so, confines oneself to the immediate space of the house and necessarily limits the area where one feels comfortable. But perhaps there is more to the experience of being tied to the house than the merely practical implications.

If people feel inadequate in their ability to go beyond their house and travel or *journey* in the wider sphere of the city, the possibility of progress in the quest to make a home is restricted. They must make the break with the familiar space of their immediate environment in order to allow their bodies the opportunity to come to know the space beyond. Making this next step on their journey which has already been fraught with estrangement requires determination and energy. As Eva said, "Sometimes I just feel too tired to make the effort to go by bus anywhere. When I think of all the questions I must ask people, the bus driver, and people in the street, 'How do I get to this place?' I just feel too tired to do it."

We all sometimes feel that we do not have the energy to go outside and attend to some business across the city. But how much more energy is required if one does not know which bus to take? We have to ask someone. And how much more energy is required if we do not have "at our fingertips" the language required to ask the question? The journey becomes much more confrontational. It requires divesting oneself of the comfort of being at ease with one's surroundings. It brings estrangement. There is not only the journey on the bus and finding one's way on the streets, there is the "journey" through the unfamiliar language.

Anecdotal theme: Journeying the path of language

There is a need for time in order to become familiar with the language. Often people have doubts about whether they will ever be able to feel completely at ease with speaking English: "It will never be really easy," said Leszek. "Even when you get used to speaking with people and saying the everyday things, still you have the accent and still there will always be words you don't know. The learning of English will go on for ever. I will never be really at ease about it."

For Lam, the language is a "barrier." Irena experiences language as an "obstacle" which she has to pass through to continue on her way to feeling more at home in Canada. Fong, who has been in Canada for ten years, said that there are still many things he has to learn. In speaking of having to learn the language there is the implication of something other than a way of coming to know incidentally. Instead, there is the experienced need to take a deliberate *learning stance*. Some people still study grammar books, others depend on conversation, television, books and social situations to practice and learn English.

The experience of not being *at ease* is the experience of *dis-ease* or *un-ease*. The body is in a continual state of being self-aware, there is no forgetfulness of self. Rather, there is a state of watchfulness. In the manner of speaking of never being at ease there is the reminder of the state of being on a journey when one can never completely rest. There is always somewhere further to go. Patricia referred to how tiring it is to continually speak English and she said that being able to speak to someone in Spanish was "like having a rest, it is like refreshment for me."

It is hard to know the best words for particular situations, as Leszek said: "I can look up a word in a dictionary and there will be ten meanings. For you (speaking to me and implying any native speaker) it is easy to know which is just the right one for this particular sentence. You have learned this by the way, in the life. But for me, I can't know it like this. I have to memorize it. So I can never understand this the same way as you."

Leszek's words disclose the seemingly parallel way of knowing our way around space. When we really are inhabiting a place we know our way around through our bodies: *You cannot travel on the path before you have become the Path itself* (Gautama Buddha). We do not have to think explicitely about which way to go, nor commit the turns to a memory which is called upon during the movement from one place to another; rather we know the way through our legs. However, when we do not know the way we have to refer to a map or memory to tell us which is the right way.

Likewise in language. The Ancient Egyptians believed the seat of the soul was the tongue: "The tongue was a rudder or steering-oar with which a man steered his course through the world" (Chatwin, 1987, p. 302). As native speakers we have learned our *way around* certain words "on the way," as Leszek said. It is something that is known through the words themselves. But for the second language learner this is not known and cannot be learned "in the life." Instead, it becomes a type of knowledge that is memorized. Thus, it is not inhabited. Learning the language is like a journey in that one must deliberately look out for the way to go and one can never really rest.

When we do not know our way to a particular place we have to ask questions of people. Frequently there is the need to ask questions of language use. George asks many questions of native people with whom he speaks: "I often ask, 'Can I say this?' or, 'Is it okay to say like this?'"

Asking what is permissable and possible in language is a way of living with the language for many immigrants. It is a continual experience of trying to find one's way. As Jutta[16] said, if you don't know how to say what you want, you have to find some other way to say it: "Sometimes I have to use two or three sentences to say what I want because I don't know the way directly, I don't know maybe just one word that will take me there in the straight way. So I have to like come from the back."

The type of thinking that is required on a journey is not the usual type of thinking we do in our everyday lives. At home, we accept many social mores virtually in an unquestioned way, as we accept our language in an unquestioned way. But the learning of a second language is not a mode of thinking in the usual way. The fact that grammar has to be considered, that questions have to be asked and that memory is utilized in a conscious way involving effort all point to a type of thinking that is not usual.

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[16] Jutta is a German lady in her late fifties who immigrated to Australia thirty years ago with her husband Fritz. It took her over twelve years to start to feel comfortable in both the new country and the new language. Although the German accent can be detected in their English, they both have very strong Australian accents in their pronunciation of words containing the letter 'i'. It seems that this distinguishing feature of the Australian accent has been deliberately emulated over the years and in saying such words they sounds more Australian than many Australians! I spoke to them while I was at home on holiday during the course of my study program.

The language aspect of the journey toward making a new home is implied in the references made to a kind of progress. Phrases such as "little by little," "each year will be better," and "I'm making small steps," all imply a movement forward along a path. The progress in the *language journey* is just one feature of the whole journey towards coming to dwell in a new place. The language, the space and the journey intertwine in the movement towards dwelling.

The culture of the Aborigines of Australia links place, language and journey more explicitely than the western culture. All the words for *country* are the same as the words for *line*. The tribal "lines" which the Aborigines travel are called "Songlines." The songline consists of many verses which must be sung out, in the right order, during the journey. It is by knowing their way through the verses, which "sing" a feature of the landscape, that travellers find their way (Chatwin, 1987). Thus, the way to go is known through the language of the song. But the language of the song recalls the way of the journey in that it "re-sings" into existence the features of the landscape. Each journey that the Aborigines embark upon re-affirms the original Creation of the Ancestors who first "sang" the names of the world. The Aboriginal way of living on the Earth recalls the "fourfold" (Heidegger). Thus, it is a type of dwelling which recognizes the significance of space and language, at the same time as it recognizes the limit of mortals.

Anecdotal theme: Re-tracing steps

Alice is continually making efforts: "We have to try to make a home here. We try getting into training programs, to try to feel like you're being accepted in the community. There are some things we have to try to change, for instance education. Either you try and get the Canadian creditation or you have to accept that what you were before you can't be. Also we try to provide for the kids, so that they feel like they can belong here. And we attend functions or parties whenever we get invited to them because we hope that we can come to understand more of how things are done here, to learn the Canadian way."

It seems as though Alice is trying to *re-make* aspects of her life which she had already finished making in Africa. Although she has already completed a degree, she now has to take further courses. Having once been part of a community, through simply *being* part of the community, she now has to make special efforts to become part of the community.

In everyday life at home, attending a party is something that is done in leisure time for recreational purposes, but for some immigrants this sort of social gathering is another step of their journey. It is an opportunity to learn.

Leszek and Zhou experience a journey which consists of re-making aspects of their life that they had previously accomplished at home. They spoke of the pressure of having to "run faster", to "catch up" and to "start all over again." For them, the journey has become like a race where they are behind the others. Nevertheless, they are on the way to somewhere. They spoke of the pressure of time in this journey. Their experience of time is that they do not have enough time to catch up with the others.

Every day has its part to play in the progress to be made: "I do so little and the day is gone! I feel that another day is gone and I haven't anything in my hand," said Basia. "Every evening I think that I haven't done enough. There are so many things that have to be done again. First, I must get my degree again. So I have to learn all those things again. And before that I have to learn to say what I want to say in English. But sometimes I just feel too tired to do all these things."

Anecdotal theme: Taking new steps

Fong feels that he has "gone further" than his parents in his attempt to adopt "Canadian" ways of life: "In the traditional way of Vietnam the whole family will stick together and live tightly together. Many Vietnamese think this is our boundary and don't want to cross it. And I want to be a little more open. My sister and my brother, we live by ourselves away from the parents. This made my parents little bit upset but for us we think it's the only way we can break the boundary and cross to the outside world."

Fong has made a deliberate attempt to move beyond what he feels are the confines of the traditional Vietnamese way of life. The steps he has taken are not only new for him, but they are new in the experience of his parents and the Vietnamese community in general.

George said, "I have made progress and still make progress to make this home. Every year as I get more English it will feel even more comfortable." Eva feels like she isn't making much progress now, "only taking tiny steps."

There seems to be a dialectic between becoming more independent and becoming less independent as the result of leaving home. Generally, in western culture, the time of leaving home comes in adolescence and it is usually considered a time for becoming more independent. However, the journey of immigration has some interesting deviations from this notion. First, there is the feeling of loss of independence since the world of known things has shrunk and there is the experience of starting over again. Immigrants are more reliant on other people to teach things which at home were already known. As Zhou said of himself and other Chinese immigrants he had spoken with, "We feel like newborn children in this society." And Eva wants to re-establish her independence. She feels too reliant on her husband, being insecure in her ability to cope with things herself.

In contradiction to the feeling of increased dependence on others, there is the experience of being thrown on one's own resources more so than is the case at home: "You are much more on your own here," said Alice. "Here we do not have the support of family and friends. All the stress we put on each other (speaking of herself and her husband). Here if you have an argument, too bad! There is no mother or sister to talk to about it."

Independence comes from being without family and close friends. There is an abundance of things to be learned of one's own accord, without the stabilizing absoluteness of being at home. There is more discovery since there is no *This is the way it is* of life at home. So it seems that there is the experience of being more dependent on others for things that at home would not have required help, yet there is the loss of being able to depend on others for things that at home would have been situations where one would have sought some dependency on others.

A group of friends from the same country may in a way replace the family at home, as Monica[17] indicated: "My friends are very important for me. We have a large group of friends from Chile and we get together very often. We help each other and we laugh together. These people are very close. They are like the family."

Independence presumes the prior stage of dependence. But immigrants have yet to overcome the dependencies that others have experienced (and overcome) in the new land. For people from countries where the extended family is the norm, a large group of friends takes the role of the family, giving support and providing the common background for topics of conversation. The people from home have been left behind but the role they played has been replaced by others. Perhaps it is not a case of being more independent, but being more dependent on different people. An aspect of home may be renewed through the manner of building new support groups.

Anecdotal theme: Taking no steps

When Guicing found that she could not return to China, she became much more critical of things in Canada: "Personally I feel that its not safe living here. I find so many murders. My husband tell me not to worry about this because in the kind of society, the media, the newspapers, they publish everything. I think in China maybe they don't let people know, but what I know is very little because no people are allowed to personally have guns. In China there were some murders but not as many as here. I just feel I don't want to spend nights outside home, especially alone. It's not safe. In China sometimes I have to teach at night so I often rode my bicycle back at night. I don't worry about it. But here I don't want to do that."

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[17] Monica, a Chilean who has largely brought up her teenage children in Canada, is adamant she will return to Chile, although she has been away for sixteen years. Fiercely proud of the Chilean way of being, she seems determined to embody what she perceives to be the special emotional way of being of her country people. Despite feeling that she has done very well in carving out a nice career for herself in Edmonton, and she has a large support group of friends from Chile, she feels that her home country is the place where she wants to "grow old."

A person may have physically left the dwelling place, however the real leave-taking of home has not occurred. An earlier stage of the journey consists in an inability to go forward. It seems that for Guicing this is the case. Canada is still *away*. She is still on a "holiday type" journey because she always hopes to return to China. When she and her husband left China it was with the intention of returning after two or three years. So the visit to Canada was an excursion, granted a lengthy one. But with the incident in Tiananmen Square she found that she could not return home. She also found that she had no intention of making a home in Canada. So in a manner of speaking she is caught in a situation of being homeless. She dwells neither in Canada since she cannot move from her *observation* stance, nor does she dwell in China. However, a closer look at the experience of homelessness reveals that in effect this in not Guicing's experience. To be homeless is to have no ground for an outward-looking vision. It is an experience of being without certainty, without the background of a sustaining social milieu (Berger, Berger & Kellner, 1973). This is not the experience of Guicing since she continues to look back to her *home-ground* as reference for what she sees in Canada: "Here the employer/employee relationship is different. In China, if you do something wrong the manager or the principal will talk to you but here they don't do that. I know someone who just got fired. In China this can't happen. I just feel this is not good. In China I know I work for someone but I just feel that I work for the people, not someone. I taught at the school but I don't work for the principal but for the people. And the apartment complex where I work most of them are single mothers. I feel this is not good. The fathers don't have any responsibility for the children. In China there is none of this kind of thing, both the father and mother have responsibility to raise the children not only the mother. I don't like this part of the society."

Looking at the negative features of a place is an aspect of a journey where the person has not yet really moved forward. A journey is "compressed between plus and minus, between the abstractions of total acceptance and total rejection" (Jager, 1985, p. 255).

The loss of home mirrors the experience of loss of a loved one. The initial phase of the grieving process is one of "protest" wherein the person is likely to display anger or contempt for people who may be trying to help them in their grief (Bowlby, 1961). Immigrants are susceptible to grief for the lost home just as are people who are forcibly relocated by city departments. Both groups may pass through a period of anger accompanied by the tendency to over idealize the former home (Fried, 1963).

Guicing rejects many of the things of Canada. She tries to tell herself that here she can drive a car and buy whatever food she wants.

However, no matter how much she tries to look on the positive side she continues to feel her life is "just a big stress on my heart."

Perhaps there is difficulty with breaking with the past of China because in her leaving there was always the return. Guicing has not completed her departure from her life in China because she never said her farewells. Her reason for the journey was neither a departure *from* China, nor a journey *to* Canada. Her intentions were those of a tourist whose concerns for the country to be visited are usually less serious. There is a difference between being in the world as a tourist and as an immigrant: one is an "on-looker," the other a "member of the cast" (Schutz, 1971, p. 97). The experience of being a newcomer involves one in the need to go beyond the mode of being a visitor. There is the need for a contact with the group that requires more than the merely transitory type of contact made by visitors. Many previously taken-for-granted ways of life are found to be less relevant in the new society. The immigrant is in a position to be more objective about the life-world of the new country than are the people who live there. However, immigrants have to determine these aspects very often for themselves. There is much to learn on the way to becoming at home.

Anecdotal theme: Home is where you can find rest

Lam spoke of "always trying." When we are always trying to do something, it appears difficult and there is little or no ease and consequently no rest. And rest is an important feature of feeling at home. Home is where we can shed the burden of "trying" and heave a sigh of relief as we can be ourselves. Any attempt at pretence can be pushed aside at home. At home we find rest:

> Rest, the opposite of movement and journey, relates to a basic human need for spatial and environmental order and familiarity. Rest anchors the present and future in the past and maintains an experiential and historical continuity. From the vantage point of human experience, the deepest manifestation of rest is *dwelling*, which involves a lifestyle of regularity, repetition and cyclicity all grounded in an atmosphere of care and concern for places, things, and people. (Seamon, 1985, p. 227)

The experience of Lam as he considers his future does not include much sense of rest. This is in contrast to George who had the following to say about his feeling of being and staying in Canada: "I remember very well when I started to feel at home here in this country. When we came here to this apartment. I had a job and it's my permanent full-time position. And it's a government job and I know that every two weeks I have a cheque. And now this town house, it isn't ours but it's really roomy. I have my small space in the basement because I like, I really like to do a lot of things from wood and I can do that. It's a special kind of feeling. Like in the evening, the children are sleeping and for example I'm cutting grass or watering my small yard here and I think that's it like it's everything what I need. So it's peace, it's quiet. Everything's okay. My wife is at home, my kids are safe, it's everything. Now I see I can do the things I want to do here. To make my profession. I have really good experience now because of my job. I have contact with drugs, with professional language and with pharmacists and they are very friendly and they want to help me. I never felt like it was home in Poland because you couldn't plan for a future. It was so difficult to live every day and you could not see a future. Here I can see that I can have the future as much as I want. I can do it. I have made progress and still make progress to make this home. It is home, more than Poland. Every year as I get more English it will feel even more comfortable."

George seems to be able to feel at peace in Canada. His peace is not an inactive waiting, but an active anticipation of the possibility of the future. For George, there is a balance in the dialectic of rest and journey, inside and outside, being and becoming. Things are different for Guicing, however.

Guicing has no desire to stay in Canada. She never meant to leave China and so she never made the parting which is an important aspect of leaving: "the traveller can leave behind only that which he has truly faced" (Jager, 1985, p. 250).

Theme one: Leaving home and language is a long journey.

During our conversations there was frequent use of spatial words and phrases such as "taking little steps," "moving towards," and "going backwards." The anecdotal themes, "continuing the journey," "journeying the path of language," "retracing steps," "taking new steps," "taking no steps," and "home is where you can find rest" speak to the umbrella theme, *Leaving home and language is a long journey*. The metaphor of journey is also commonly used about life at home, however the anxiety and unexpectedness of journeying is not quite as frequently or dramatically experienced as in the case of the journey of immigrants. People on a journey frequently need help, so how might the pedagogy of ESL help immigrants on their journey?

To feel comfortable about asking questions would seem to be important for language learners. Teachers can foster a supportive environment within the classroom to enhance the learners' readiness to ask for help. But the situation where people are always the "receivers of knowledge" (Belenky et al, 1986) has the propensity to lead to a feeling that one's own way of knowing has little value. Thus, the way of knowing the world and language may become subordinated to the dominant framework of the English language. To be sensitive to this possibility is the task of teachers. Immigrants are on a new journey, but what they already know may be incorporated and extended without being subordinated. There is not always only one way of answering a question or finding the way to express something in language. Immigrants can be encouraged to "find their way around language" by building as much as possible on what they already know. It is often the case that if we sit as passengers in a car or bus we do not learn the way around the streets as well as we might if we had to drive there ourselves. As a passenger, one is passively rather than actively involved in the journey. Perhaps there is an indication that students will better learn their "way around" if they are given more opportunities to find the way of the language themselves rather than being given certain expressions and sentences from someone else.

Anecdotal theme: Living with the unexpected

Living with the ways of life in a new society can be an experience of *being in the dark*. When we are new to a country we encounter many practices of which we may have no previous experience: George one day answered the phone at home and was asked if he would like to donate some money to a particular organization. The caller had told him that they were aware he worked for the hospital and that they had obtained his name through his hospital work. George was under the impression that he was obliged to donate this money once, and for the purpose of his work. He asked what was the usual amount of the donation and was told that it was fifty dollars, whereby he agreed to donate the same amount. Several days later George received by mail his "certificate" announcing him to be a life-long member of a certain charitable organization and requesting his money. It was only then that George realized that he had supposedly agreed to yearly donate this money and further, that it had nothing to do with his work.

Dwelling consists in a kind of thinking which is related to traditional practice. In the mode of being of the journey, thinking "becomes dominated by observation" (Jager, 1975, p. 254). The people who are at home in their social world "only secondarily experience the world as an object of [their] thinking (Schutz, 1971, p. 92). The traveller sees most things without a personal meaning; the "natural attitude" (Schutz, 1973) of taking everything for granted disappears in the process of the journey. There is a "common stock of knowledge" (Berger and Luckmann, 1971) available to members of a community and it is this that affords the everyday life its reality. Leaving behind this common stock of knowledge and the system of relevances to everyday life induces a state of *being in the dark:*

> My knowledge of everyday life has the quality of an instrument that cuts a path through a forest and, as it does so, projects a narrow cone of light on what lies just ahead and immediatley around; on all sides of the path there continues to be darkness. (Berger & Luckmann, 1971, p. 59)

Anecdotal theme: The little things are sometimes the hardest to forget

The accepted patterns of life are lived virtually unwittingly within the natural attitude. However, we become aware of these modes of being when confronted with ways that throw our own into relief. Zhou watched a television game show with a sense of disbelief. He was aghast at the way in which the members of the game and the audience jumped up and down for joy when they won some money. His background does not condone such attitudes towards money and particularly such public displays of emotion concerning money. To him this is a crass way of behaving.

Basia has difficulty overcoming her country's attitude towards private business. She is having trouble finding employment and had contemplated opening a business of her own. However, she feels uncomfortable with this because of her history. Being brought up in a place where private business was not endorsed as a worthwhile way of living has left her feeling rather uneasy with the notion of embarking on her own enterprise.

The small and seemingly trivial features of a way of life are sometimes the most difficult to overcome. George has difficulty throwing out empty margarine containers. In Poland they keep many things because of shortages and the difficulty of obtaining even simple things such as containers. The way of living in the world whereby it is taken-for-granted that things can be thrown away is a difficult way of being for George to acquire.

Many taken-for-granted ways of living in our home country are not questioned until we are exposed to other ways of being. Sometimes the new way is admired and sometimes not. In Basia's case she would like to overcome her resistance to the notion of having her own business and is now finding out how deeply ingrained her attitudes are. Zhou however, feels that the western ways of behaving in regards to money are tasteless; he would not like to adopt them and they are a continual reminder for him that his stance comes from another country. Although the exhibitionism of the game shows do not appeal to all western-born people, it is still probably easier for us to ignore them than it is for Zhou, whose background renders them virtually incomprehensible.

In meeting our own ways of taken-for-granted suppositions about behaviour there is the opportunity for growth. Whether or not the new way is adopted or admired, there is the chance to reflect on our basic way of living. Through such encounters where one breaks out of unquestioned frameworks and meets the other in a face-to-face situation there is the possibility of further understanding about the other. This should of course not be a one-way process. There is the opportunity for learning on behalf of the home group also:

> [A] similar self-discovery and de-absolutization takes place in those who directly relate with the Stranger and so insert themselves into a situation analogous to the Stranger's. When the natural attitude's blinders to Otherness fall from our eyes, we can recognize some of our own intentionalities, including relevances, through which the world is given to us, as never before, as well as recognizing that other intentionalities are possible and that our own are not absolute. (Barber, 1989, p. 125)

Newcomers to a country can more easily recognize their own taken-for-granted ways of life through an encounter with other accepted patterns, as did Patricia: "When I first started this job we had a meeting at a certain time in the morning. When I arrived the meeting had started and I walked in and said, 'Hello' to the speaker and everybody else. But I kind of felt funny about the way they looked at me. Then, later, I saw someone else come in late and she just tried to creep in without being noticed. I thought that was very strange and also that nobody said hello to her. I thought they were being rude! Then I learned that when you are late it is something to be ashamed of and you try not to be noticed."

It is not only in the case of significant aspects of the life-world where taken-for-grantedness can be observed. Indeed, it is in the smaller, seemingly insignificant things that we can see how people become accustomed to features of their new world and gradually incorporate them into their own life-world to the extent to which they are no longer noticed.

Anecdotal theme: Eventually, some things pass unnoticed

When Basia first arrived in Edmonton, she was surprised by the style of the buildings. She had never seen such a collection of high rise buildings but it was the shopping malls that really confronted her in their difference: "I have never seen such buildings for shops. Everything inside under one huge roof. And such funny shapes of the buildings. To me they looked like factories. But now I have got used to the building styles. Now when I am on the bus I don't notice them anymore like at first." She has come to accept some things which for her were at first stark, that she couldn't help but observe. Now they are not observed, they are taken-for-granted and to this extent she is beginning to be at home.

Although some things may come to be taken-for-granted, others cannot be passed unnoticed: "When I first came I was surprised to see people take off their shirts and lie in the sun in the park or somewhere. This is very strange for Vietnamese because we always wear a hat and not lie in the sun. But now I do the same because I know that for a long time in winter there will be no chance to feel warm in the sun. And another thing that shocked me is to see people holding hands and kissing in the street. But still I don't like to see this. For me it's shame."

William[18], having come from New Guinea, found the winter a very strange experience: "I used to always stare at the snow. For maybe three winters I could not stop from staring at it when it came. I remember the first time when I saw the football field covered in snow. I just stood there and stared. I couldn't believe it. It was like I had suddenly been taken to another planet or something. Now when it snows I walk outside and don't even think about it. It is just like walking out in a tropical thunderstorm at home. It is there but it doesn't surprise you."

In regards to the weather, William now has a more matter-of-fact attitude towards the new country. One stage of the journey process which must be reached and passed through is where there is the ability to turn away from the things of the past and cease to look with a comparative frame of mind (Jager, 1985).

Anecdotal theme: The time of home

Time plays a significant part in our coming to know the place and the people of a new country. But there is another aspect of the importance of time in our sense of home. Lived time is experienced in the things themselves:

> If the colour of things remained constant, time would stop with respect to those things, and no one could know that time flows with respect to them. If the light of the day did not change, that is, if the sun remained in the same place in the sky, no one would still know what time is... I don't divide the day into parts, but indicate the division which the day itself offers. All I really do is assign

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[18] William came to Canada to study for five years. The difference between this country and his homeland are so stark that he has never really got used to things and people here. Because he sees his stay as temporary, although somewhat long when speaking in terms of temporariness, he has made little effort to integrate. He sticks very much to himself, focussed on getting his work done and returning home.

names. (Van Den Berg, 1970, pp. 106, 107)

Lived-time of home manifests itself in the colours, the temperatures and the landscape of home. I know when it is examination time at the universities of Queensland; the blossom of the Jacaranda trees tells me of this. I know when to wake up at home; the cheerful call of the kookaburras always starts my day. Away from home, the time that is in the colours, the temperature and the landscape is very different. At home I know when Christmas is approaching; the heat of the days, the humidity of the nights tell me of Christmas, I *feel* Christmas time approaching without needing the calendar to tell me. Here in Canada I know that it is nearly *that* time of the year, but I know this only because of the date and because there is the familiar hysteria of consumerism. It doesn't *feel* like *Christmas-time*. One of the most commonly heard "complaints" of people who move to Australia from the Northern Hemisphere is that they "don't *feel* like it is Christmas." Jim[19], from Canada, said he felt particularly homesick on Christmas Day in Australia: "It didn't feel like Christmas. It was hot and we went to the beach. That's not Christmas to me. I remember sitting on the beach and tears came to my eyes as I thought of home; of snow and fireplaces and skiing." The lived-time of Christmas was wrong for Jim in Australia. This aspect of strangerness is often described by people living in a new country.

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[19] Jim comes from Canada but at the age of nineteen travelled extensively in Australia, spending about a year there and working in various positions and places. He was enthusiastic and positive about Australia and the life-style and philosophy of the people, yet feels that he could never be at home there because of the difference from what he feels comfortable with, that is the Canadian way of life.

Even personal time is experienced differently in a new country: "At home we don't have to rush to be on time everywhere," said Alice. "People in Africa are much more relaxed about it. If you have to go to a meeting for business purposes then the time of the meeting is given as such and such *English time*. Only when that phrase is used do we worry about being on time. That phrase tells us that the time is a different one to what it means for an African." For Patricia, people in Canada are in a "continual hurry." The hurry and rush of life seems to be the predominate way of life in Canada when compared to life in some other countries: "At home we don't rush about like they do here. We always seemed to have more time, especially for family and friends. And we had a big rest in the afternoon. I don't know. Life just seemed more relaxed. Maybe I just didn't notice it as much."

Theme two: To feel at home consists in the ability to take things for granted.

When we are at home there are a multitude of things that pass by us largely unnoticed. To notice things as being unfamiliar means that one is not at home. When one is away from home many things cannot be taken for granted. Consequently there is the experience of "living with the unexpected," finding that "the little things are sometimes the hardest to forget," that "time of home" is lived differently. But eventually "some things pass unnoticed" and this indicates that they are being taken for granted and so there is a movement towards being at home: *To feel at home consists in the ability to take things for granted.*

ESL teachers may help their students to recognize that there are some things about the new country that are becoming familiar and are no longer noticed. For example, a person who no longer stares at the architecture of shopping centers has changed the experience of the difference. Likewise, if one can listen to the television or radio and not "hear" the accent it implies that the accent is no longer strange.

It may be a positive learning experience if students were often given the opportunity to come to reflective awareness of the aspects of language that have passed beyond seeming strange. While listening and talking to each other, students could be asked to think about what came easily or passed unnoticed. Perhaps this is a way of becoming aware of the way in which certain aspects of the language may becoming taken-for-granted. By bringing to reflective awareness this movement toward a feeling of home, students may come to feel more positive about the possibility of becoming at home. By reflecting upon and articulating about the way they may have come to accept things they may see that they are gradually moving into a new "space" in the new country in that some aspects have become unremarkable in a positive sense.

Anecdotal theme: Language is not mere words

"I think the most important thing is I can't express my feelings to others. When someone talk to me I understand them and I can give an answer but I just feel I can't express my real feelings. I don't know how to say it so this makes me feel sad for home. I have to try to think how to say, I have to choose the right words," said Guicing.

To be able to express what one "really feels" is an important aspect of speaking to other people. It is often not sufficient for adults to be able to use language as an instrumental means for conveying basic requests and standard responses. Immigrants become aware of the differentiation in language use because of their initial difficulty with the expressive nature of language. Like Guicing, second language learners may be left feeling inadequate as they experience being unable to express the concepts they desire to express. There is a difference in being able to say what has to be said from a *functional* perspective, and what one really feels about something or someone.

The aspect of speaking one's "real feelings" seems significant. There is the implication that presentation of self is somewhat lacking through having to speak another language. What is "real" to us is what is close and meaningful. It seems that the closeness and the meaningfulness of language is an aspect which is missed by some people.

Language has the propensity to be close and meaningful, to somehow present the person in the light in which they would wish to be seen. However, this facet of language may not be something that can be taught.

Language which has a closeness to people can be called "vernacular language." "Vernacular" comes from an Indo-Germanic root meaning *rootedness* and *abode* (Illich, 1983). The language which is vernacular differs from the language which is taught. The vernacular language is rooted in a social context; it grows out of the everyday meanings of a group of people who live together and construct and share reality. The vernacular is something other than what is purposively taught. Rather, it is something that is learned on the side. It is part and parcel of everyday meaningful lived life:

> [V]ernacular spreads by practical use; it is learned from people who mean what they say and who say what they mean to the person they address in the context of everyday life. This is not so in taught language. With taught language, the one from whom I learn is not a

> person whom I care for or dislike, but a professional speaker. The model for taught colloquial is somebody who does not say what he means, but who recites what others have contrived. (Illich, 1983, p. 484)

So the question arises, to what extent can a second language be formally taught?

> [L]anguage would be totally inhuman if it were totally taught. That is what Humboldt meant when he said that real language is speech that can only be fostered, never taught like mathematics. Speech is much more than communication and only machines can communicate without reference to vernacular roots. (Illich, 1983, p. 485)

It seems that for some language learners the use of the second language is, for a while at least, somewhat like a caricature of being at home in the language. There is the experience of speaking a *learned* language, something given to one by other people and therefore not growing from within oneself. The difference between the vernacular language and the learned language is rather like the difference between a home-cooked meal and a television dinner. The difference may not lie in an objective distinction between the nutritional values of the two dinners, rather the difference lies in the meaning inherent to the activity involved in obtaining the dinners:

> The value to the person of the vernacular word, movement, food, or dwelling is to a large measure determined by the subjective enjoyment of the person or community that engenders it; the need for the commodity is determined and shaped for the consumer by the producer who defines its value. (p. 487)

There is a "vernacular mode of being, doing and making" which is contrasted with the more technological or commodity oriented way of being. The notion implicit to this assertion is similar to that of Heidegger who differentiates between two kinds of building. One is the technological kind of building which is where one can live in a certain type of manner, the other is authentic dwelling which comes from active involvement and growth with the community.

The two ways of *being-in-language*, the vernacular and the taught, shed some light on the question of the home of language and the language of home. A certain intimacy gained through a kind of activity seems to be lacking in the situation of learning a second language as an adult.

Language has its own way of being and it is sometimes beyond our reach:

> [L]anguage - the gift of tongues which Jahweh breathed into the mouth of Adam - has a rebellious and wayward vitality compared to which the foundations of the Pyramids are as dust. (Chatwin, 1987, p. 211)

Language is a mode of being which resists the reduction to a system of signs (Reagan and Stewart, 1978). Instead, language is a "mediation" through which we can express ourselves, and in doing so we overcome the objectivity of the sign itself:

> To speak is the act by which the speaker overcomes the closure of the universe of signs, in the intention of saying something about something to someone; to speak is the act by which language moves beyond itself as sign toward its reference and toward its opposite. Language seeks to disappear; it seeks to die as an object. (p. 112)

The instrumental approach toward language as something to be grasped cannot result in the sense of feeling the language to be incorporated in the body, so to speak. While the language is approached as a system of signs it will remain as something external to the learner. It will be a tool "ready-at-hand" rather than something "in hand" to paraphrase Heidegger.

Anecdotal theme: At home, speaking can be "thoughtless"

Guicing spoke of "choosing" the right words and having "to try to think how to say." At home she does not have to choose the words in this way. Being at home in language, the words seem to choose us. And we certainly do not very often have to make a concerted effort to think about what to say. This mode of using the language implies a particular type of reflective thinking rather than pre-reflective way of living with language. The mode of reflective thinking pertaining to the second language learner arises from the inability to express oneself readily (not *having*, or lacking the words). It somewhat calls to mind the experience of standing back and observing a shelf of tools from which one must decide which to use for the work at hand. Again there is the parallel with a commodity-choosing way of being. It implies that there is a way of reaching meaning through a simple recovery from a stock of items available. The attitude toward meaning which implies that meaning is something experienced outside oneself is incorrect. To speak of "searching for" or "finding" meaning is not grounded in the experiential quality of meaning (Stein, 1983). To speak of meaning without reference to it as an "act or process of attribution" (p. 393) is to deny the way we live with meaning. To think of meaning as fixed in a sign, it becomes an object to be recovered. To think of meaning as an object to be recovered is again a way of being which relegates proximity to distance.

Furthermore, the way of speaking, of "choosing" the right words to say, implies a reflective approach to language; an approach which involves suspension from an immediate involvement in the interaction. It is often the case that such a reflective stance results in more self-consciousness, "making normal social interaction uncomfortable" (Van Manen, 1991, p. 13). During a self-forgetful mode of thinking and speaking the interaction is truly conversational or dialogic. However, when one is forced into a reflective stance and thus becomes self-conscious in one's own acting, the experience is of picking one's way through a situation somewhat like the manner in which we may pick our way through an array of goods with which we are not familiar.

Some action is thoughtful in that it incorporates sensitivity to a particular situation. And some action is thoughtful because it requires that one distances oneself from the situation and contemplates the way in which to act before acting (Van Manen, 1991, p. 17). In the first mode of thoughtful action there is a sense of "thoughtlessness" to the action since it does not require that the person stands back and reflects before acting. If we consider the experience of speaking English as a second language in the way in which Guicing seems to experience it, it becomes apparent that for her speaking is always thoughtful and distancing, requiring that she extracts herself from the immediacy of the situation. When one is at home in a language, however, speaking is a "thoughtless" way of being. "Thoughtless", not because it does not require thought, but because the thought is an incorporated *in-tuneness* with the dialogic situation.

The intimacy of language inheres in a style of being with the people. Here, style refers to the way of being with oneself that is natural and not caricatured. It shows and reflects a person's way of being oriented to the world and to language (Van Manen, 1989, p. 242). It is easy for a learned way of interacting to be a caricature of the original. We can see the effect of caricature going wrong in the example of bad acting where the acting person is just not *fitted* to the character being portrayed. Caricature can be used to advantage where humor is required, however second language learners do not intend to be laughed at.

Anecdotal theme: The "doing" of language

There is a way of knowing how to behave in particular conversational situations as Lam expressed: "In Vietnam I know what kind of people and who I'm talking to. I know that with the older people I must speak in a certain way and I know how to behave with all the people I am talking with. I know what to do."

This mention of "knowing what to do" deserves some attention. By saying that he feels that he must know what to do, Lam points to the fact that what we do when we speak to people is not as straightforward as would at first appear. There is a certain style, or way of behaving in conversation which we take for granted when we speak our first language. When second language learners are in a situation where they must attempt to reproduce or at least emulate a certain style of behaviour and discourse for communication to be effective, there is the possibility of the loss of their own style, their own outward appearance of their embodied being. And the style of speaking, the discourse pattern of a language, is tremendously important for mutual understanding of a conversational sort.

Teaching and learning another language is more a matter of recognizing the style of a discourse system than it is a matter of syntax and grammar:

> Discourse patterns are among the strongest expression of self and cultural identity. To a great extent people are what they are because of the way they talk with themselves and others. (Bain, 1990, p. 18)

Accordingly, immigrants would feel the loss of "knowing what to do" while speaking to others. The immigrants who express discomfort in this way are not referring to a loss of words in terms of lexicon items. Rather they mean such things as "presentation of face," the way in which we present ourselves through tone of voice and attitude toward what we choose to acknowledge or ignore; "distribution of talk," the mutual understanding and agreement on whose turn it is to talk; "information structure," the intuitive understanding we have about the meaning of stress and pause; and "content organization," which relates to the knowledge of whether too much or too little is being said at a particular time (Bain, 1990, p. 15). Often inter-ethnic communication results in the immigrants feeling that they are misunderstood or that they have themselves not reacted appropriately in the dialogue. The discoure style that we use in our first language is something we incorporate at an early age and is largely taken-for-granted and pre-reflective.

The lack of knowledge about what is appropriate to say and the manner in which it is appropriate to say it can deny a certain closeness in a relationship with another person: "When I came here I worked as a nanny. I loved the little girl very much but I don't think she felt the same way because I can't tell her what I'm thinking about her. I didn't know how to show her what I felt for her. So I think it's very sad when people can't communicate very well," said Guicing.

Anecdotal theme: The "acting" of language

Having limited language makes it difficult to show who one really is: "When I first met Kerry she did not really understand the person that

I am," said French-speaking Pierre[20]. "When we learn to speak English we learn the very formal way and then when you speak to English-speaking people they think that you sound very formal. Kerry tells me now that at first she thought I was a very formal person. I was not able to show my real personality because of the way that I had learned to speak English. And because sometimes you can't express more deep thoughts. It took quite a long time before Kerry understood that I am a fun person, not just very polite and formal. At first I know that I was not able to show my ability and my personality the way that I'd like to, that's the cost."

In speaking of not being able to show his personality Pierre seems to be implying that his *style* as a person is difficult to present, not only because of a lack of lexical items, but because of the need to be constantly on the alert to other ways of *behaving* in language. In using the term *behaviour* I mean the wider sense of the word which includes the sense of presenting a particular style of who one is; it is an *embodied acting* rather than merely an *external action*.

One's personality cannot be reduced to the narrow sense of individualism. Instead, personality is dynamic and is related to the external world of others (Titone, 1983, p. 275). Pierre's personality and ability as a person have grown from his past interactions with others in his home country. Additionally, there is the significance of personal experience as the very stuff of expression. Immigration has the tendency to leave people feeling that their past is either disconnected from them or disregarded. In this sense it is difficult for immigrants to show their "ability." An interaction which loses its *homeness* of discourse style leads to the difficulty of knowing how to express one's own personality appropriately. There is a particular "speaking policy" which belongs to an individual's own style:

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[20] Pierre is a French Canadian from Quebec. He was studying in Alberta when I met him. His girl-friend was from Australia and he was thinking of immigrating to join her there. We got together over coffee to talk about his thoughts concerning living in another country and language for an indefinite period of time.

> There is a language or *speaking policy*, flexibly adjusted to the varying circumstances of life situations, which characterizes each individual. To speak or not to speak, to speak thus or not thus, to listen or not to listen are parts of a behavioural policy dependent on the way life and each life instance are concretely envisaged. (Titone, 1983, p. 278)

Trying to accommodate differing discourse styles, or being unable to break out of one's own discourse style during inter-ethnic communication, means that it is difficult to feel that one's own personality is being presented. Speaking one's own language and speaking another's language which is not experienced as familiar are two different modes of existence in the world.

Juan[21] felt the loss of his ability to be his own person so acutely that he had to return to his native country, leaving behind his wife and daughter. As his wife explained to me, he just could not live feeling like he was unable to express anything of significance: "He couldn't be a complete person here. He felt he was an illiterate here. And there he was a teacher and involved in political science, so he liked to talk. And here he couldn't have a meaningful conversation with someone because then I had to be in the middle interpreting for him. The things he could talk about in his basic English were things like the weather and trivial things so he felt that he was not a complete person here and it was going to take him forever to learn enough English to be accepted or to be appreciated for his abilities like he was at home. So even though he had the chance that he might go back into prison if he returned to El Salvador he felt like he was more of a prisoner here. So he went back."

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[21] I did not meet Juan. His wife Patricia told me of their separation when Juan decided that he could never be the person he is if he remained in Canada. He returned to El Salvador after one year.

Communication is vital for our self-identity as embodied persons who can *face* the world. Without this presentation of ourselves it is possible that we may feel that we are locked away within ourselves.

The way we like to be with people, our *style* of presenting ourselves in conversation may seem inappropriate in a new country: "I like to laugh a lot and express my feelings openly," said Monica. "If I am angry then I show I am angry and if I am sad then I don't mind to cry in front of people. This is very much Chilean way of doing things. We are not cold like the Canadians, not reserved. We like to hug each other and we're very close. Chilean people are much more expressive. We feel that we can say what we like to one another and there is not the same worry about if you offend someone."

Monica is referring to what is allowed and not allowed in language, a knowledge that is intuitively learned on the way through life experiences in one's first language. It is the kind of "vernacular" way of being with people to which Illich refers and it is not confined to the case of a different language. As an Australian, I found that I had to take more care about what and how to say things to people than would be the case at home, where there is a more informal or casual approach to interactions. My knowledge of discourse style and appropriateness of content in language had to be *re-read* in Canada. Subsequently, some interactive situations become more deliberative and detached, less easy than *home* conversations.

The subtlety of the effect of differing discourse styles was alluded to by Patricia: "I didn't have much language problem when I first came here because I learned English before I came, but still it's not the same to learn in textbooks or classroom setting. Coming to the real life you find that some people when they hear your accent - I don't know - sometimes I feel that there are some people who can be really prejudiced. I see it in their eyes and attitude and sometimes it can be upsetting."

The dilemma in the case of discourse style differences is that,

> without face-to-face inter-ethnic communication one cannot get into the discourse features of the other's style of communication and thereby learn to use the other's language. But the very act of face-to-face inter-ethnic communication can engender stereotyping of the other and oneself, resulting in a failure to significantly communicate. (Bain, 1990, p. 16)

It seems likely that Patricia is experiencing what she terms prejudice because of slight misunderstandings occurring through the manifestation of differing discourse styles.

Anecdotal theme: The "space" of language

Conversation requires a certain space: "This thing of the space that Canadians have! This bubble in front of them and you cannot cross it. Over there it is very common for example to kiss on the cheek or to hug or to shake hands every time you see someone. To have some sort of physical contact. But here people start backing away. You can't get too close to them when you are talking to them. It makes me feel like they are backing away from me and I have to remind myself that it is just their way. Like everything, it is so structured. So many rules and barriers," said Patricia.

Related to the concept of discourse style is the notion of the *space* of conversations. In some countries the physical proximity of speakers to each other is much closer than in others and this is a factor in making some immigrants feel less comfortable than they might otherwise feel in conversational situations. The mention of what Patricia refers to as "rules and barriers" are not necessarily experienced as such in the normal course of everyday life for the person who is at home in the country or language. They are the taken-for-granted negotiations we make in order to carry out everyday life situations. We do not think about them. However, immigrants initially at least, think in different terms. Their thoughts are influenced by their own system of meaningful negotiations.

Thinking may be done in one's own language while speaking in the second language, causing a gap between the interiority of thought and the exteriority of the spoken word, as Bogdan mentioned: "It's a little bit different talking in English all the time when you don't think in English and there are many attitudes here that we won't take. Maybe in the future when the English is better."

To think in one language, yet speak in another is somewhat like trying to make a motel room into a home. When in a motel room, one has in a sense *borrowed* some space to stay for a while. There is not the proximity to the lived space of home that is required for a feeling of "at homeness." And when one is thinking in one language but speaking another, it is the spoken language that is in a way being borrowed for a purpose;

it is not where one is "living."

The relationship between thought and language has intrigued scholars for many years and there are differing assertions regarding the topic. Nevertheless, that there is a relationship cannot be denied. Likewise, that to think in one language while talking in another makes familiarity difficult can neither be denied. Thought and speech are not the same modes of language (Merleau-Ponty, 1964; Vygotzky, 1962). Thought requires that one goes beyond the sign, that the *sign-word* disappear for thought to be brought forth. "The flow of thought is not accompanied by a simultaneous unfolding of speech" (Vygotzky, 1962, p. 149). The outward expression of sounded thought takes place "between thinking language and speaking thought" (Merleau-Ponty, 1964, p. 17).

To think in one language and yet have to translate this into another language in speech means that there is a different mode of thinking occurring. When thinking in one's own language first, thought *is* accompanied by the unfolding of speech. The way of thinking is different from the way we think in our first language where thought is not accompanied by an unfolding of speech. The mode of thinking for some second language learners becomes changed from what would normally be the case when they are living in their own language.

The meaning latent to the expressed symbol can be foreign. There are "attitudes" which seem to belong to the symbol: There are many attitudes here that we won't take. Maybe in the future when the English is better." This seems to imply that there are traces of meaning in the English language with which Bogdan cannot identify until he can go beyond the signs in order to think in English. The meaning of the attitudes to which he is referring does not lie in the sign system, so until he can go beyond the sign system, his *English-language* will not appropriate the English "attitude." There is an intimacy to language when one is familiar with that language. However, some people do not yet feel at ease with the way of being of the English language. Their conversation is thus not as *close* as conversation can be.

Theme three: At home, conversation can be the intimate expression of self.

Language has its own way of being which can be very close to us. It is not till we miss the way we are in the "space," the "acting" and the "doing" of language that we can become aware of the intimacy of our way of being with language. Thus, we realize that "language is more than words." The anecdotal themes of these experiences of language are incorporated into the theme, *At home, conversation can be intimate expression of self.* It is intimate in that it is so close to us that we are usually unreflective about the way we are with language. Being unfamiliar with a language distances us, not only from others, but also from ourselves in that we cannot express ourselves.

But the language that can cause distancing need not be in the words alone. Indeed, it is sometimes the case that despite the correctness of the words the intimacy with language is still missing. The lack of intimacy can be a factor of the discourse style of the language, things such as presentation of face and length of pauses. Perhaps by bringing the differences in conversational interaction to a level of conscious awareness it will be easier for immigrants to understand why misunderstandings may be taking place. Bain (1990) suggests that a good way to bring such discourse patterns to the attention of learners is to video-tape interactions and then play them back to learners, pointing out and discussing where the problems may have occurred. The intention with this practice is not to suggest that learners can or should embody the discourse style of the second language, but merely to incorporate the teaching into a reflective practice.

Furthermore, the notion of vernacular language (see anecdotal theme, "Language is not mere words") indicates that teachers should attempt as often as possible to move away from the use of contrived text book language. To merely teach people how to say things that have been determined by someone else perhaps means that language could become more like "recital" practice than expression of meaning. For language to be meaningful, learners must be given increasing opportunities to express what emerges from their own social context. Instead of *giving* students language to use, perhaps the starting point for teaching should more often emerge from what the students want to say.

Once newcomers have answered the questions of where they come from, what they are doing, and how long they have been in the country, they are inevitably asked if they like the country. Thus, the next chapter turns attention to the generative question, Do you like it here?

CHAPTER SIX

DO YOU LIKE IT HERE?

People are often interested in whether or not a newcomer likes the country; they are keen to know if their country is appreciated. But to answer the question with integrity is not easy. In many instances, a quick, glib answer does not seem appropriate from the newcomer's point of view. But many people do not really ask the question with much integrity. As Maciek[22] said, "People always ask you if you like it here and at first I used to try and answer them honestly. Then I found out that they were not really interested in what I like and what I dislike. So I learned just to say that I like it fine and leave it at that."

However, to say that we like the new country is not synonomous with saying we can appropriate it as our own, that our ties and appreciations of home can be forgotten.

Anecdotal theme: Some people cannot be replaced

People often cannot unequivocally state that they like the new country and do not feel that some aspects of "home" are missing. Irena[23] is very happy in Canada yet she does miss her friends and family. Despite a great deal of satisfaction with the new home, some things from the first home are still missing. The ties with home have not been severed and in some ways cannot be replaced: "I have two friends who I don't think I can replace here. I don't think I can find this friendship here because of the different experiences that we shared together. I have a lot of experience with these two friends that we have behind us."

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[22] Maciek is a man in his early thirties who left Poland under false prentences in order to pursue his career in physics. A reserved man, he speaks and behaves very formally. He gives the impression of being very tightly contained within himself, afraid to let any emotion loose.

[23] Irena left Poland with her husband and one young son. She now has a Canadian born daughter and is very happy with her new life. Although she would not have left Poland were it not for the political situation, she feels that Canada offers all she hopes for her family.

The history of our lives is significant. The shared lives of friends of the home country cannot be replaced so in this way the tie with the past remains.

For some, there is a struggle to feel completely happy in the new country. Even though a person may feel grateful for the new opportunity afforded to him or her, what is missing about the homeland cannot be easily overcome: "Things started to get better as my language improved and my knowlege of the Canadian society improved. But still, I was thinking of going back to Vietnam if it was a free country and as I get older. But now I have two children and they're Canadian. They don't know anything about Vietnam. So the hopes of going back to Vietnam are decreasing. My wife also wants to go back. She still listens to Vietnamese music and watches Vietnamese movies. But now I have no choice. I have the children, they go to school. If I would have my pick I wouldn't choose to live in Canada. But I'm not saying that the people here are not nice. The country has been good to me. And I know that if I leave there are some things and people that I would miss. I'm happy. I have nothing against the country and the people. But I don't feel a hundred percent like this is home. No way."

There were several things which Lam said contributed to his lack of a feeling of home. Among difficulties with the language and his awareness of his physical appearance, he mentioned certain things that he used to be able to do in Vietnam and a certain place that he used to go frequently: "Well I still miss my friends and (pause) the feeling you know. I don't know how you say. Just like you go shopping and you buy this or that and you speak to people at the market. Living in Vietnam, even though it was poor and communist you still have the feeling. That feeling is just not easy to go away. For instance, at night, because the city where I lived was by a river, I just walked around the river eating ice-cream and just talking to friends for a few hours before going home. I still miss that."

At home there is a sense of being known and knowing a place intimately. Often this is sadly missed and seems to be difficult to replace. Patricia and Monica said that there is a special feeling about going to the market at home that is lacking in Canada. There, they could chat casually with the many people they knew. At home, they felt themselves secure in the knowledge of being one member of the place and its community.

The streets of home evoke a feeling of membership in a community. However, the streets of the new country do not offer this same inclusion, as Guicing expressed: "Life is not.. it's a lack of something. I miss my independence. The daily life. In China we knew many people. When you walk on the street you can talk to everyone. Sometimes we feel isolated from the society, even (though) the people are real kind to us."

It seems that it is a feature of the human condition to be attached to a place:

> In both our communal and our personal experience of places there is often a close attachment, a familiarity that is part of knowing and

> being known *here*, in this particular place. It is this attachment that constitutes our roots in places; and the familiarity that this involves is not just a detailed knowledge, but a sense of deep care and concern for that place. (Relph, 1976, p. 37)

The tie to a particular place can be especially concrete for some people of different cultures. The Aborigines of Australia have a very deep sense of attachment to their land, but contrary to a misinformed understanding, they do not wander across the whole country, considering that it is all equally theirs. A tribe and an individual each have a place to which they are tied. There exists a kind of "paternity which tied his soul to one particular place in the landscape" (Chatwin, 1987, p. 67). When a pregnant woman feels the first kick of her baby she,

> marks the spot and rushes off to fetch the Elders. They then interpret the lie of the land and decide which Ancestor walked that way, and which stanzas will be the child's private property. They reserve him a 'conception site' - coinciding with the nearest landmark on the Songline. (p. 67)

The western culture does not acknowledge the bodily link to the earth in such an explicit way. Nevertheless, the English language does refer to the attachment to place through the use of the word "roots." We speak of our roots when we refer to a place to where we feel closely tied in an embodied way. The use of the word implies that it is a place that gives one a sense of foundation and groundedness. Without roots, there may be a lack of a sense of place to where one can return for comfort.

For some migrant workers and their children in the United States the state of being uprooted is the way of life. For these families life is a continual state of uprootedness. They are constantly on the move, never having the opportunity to put down roots in any one place. They live with a sense of lack of place. The notion of eventually being able to have a place to stay is one of the hopes that many of these people live with:

> There's nothing I can do but.. hope one of us, one of the girls maybe, if she meets a good man, will find a home, a real home, and live in it and never leave it... [God] is looking over us, yes, and He'll see that the day will come when we'll have a home - a home that is ours, and that we'd never leave, and that we'd have for as long as God himself is with us and that's forever. (Coles, 1973, p. 25, 81)

A similar sense of the lack of place is possible for immigrants. For the migrant workers there is no sense of connection to any place at all. For the immigrant there can be the sense of being disconnected from the one place that held meaning. The consequence can be a similar experience of uprootedness.

The mother of a migrant family tells of how her daughter often cries when they pass houses and they see the kids playing. The girl wants to have a house to stay in; she wants to cease the continual movement from one place to another. The importance of a sense of being established and known in a place is evident in the words of several of the children of the migrant families. One boy's words poignantly evoke the value of permanence to the human condition; the special quality of *own-ness* and a sense of belonging to a place:

> They told me I could sit in that chair and they said the desk, it was for me, and that every day I should come to the same place, to the chair she said was mine for as long as I'm there, in that school - that's what they say, the teachers, anyway... I asked [my mum] if we could get some chairs, like in school, and we could carry them where we go. But there's not enough money my daddy says and it's hard enough *us* moving, never mind a lot of furniture, he said. When I get big, I'll find a chair that's good, but it can fold up... [When we had to go] I thought I might never see Jimmie again, or the school either, when we drove away... Then I was getting ready to say we shouldn't go at all, and my daddy told me to shut up, because it's hard enough to keep going without us talking about this friend and the school and teacher and how we want to stay... I thought it would be good if one day we stopped and we never, never went up the road again to the the next farm, and after that the next one, until you can't remember if you're going to leave or you've just come.

(Coles, 1973, p. 42, 44-45, 47)

The lack of permanence in these people's lives discloses what it means to have no roots. For the migrant workers this is a way of being. However, immigrants do have a place but it is in their past. They have become disconnected.

Anecdotal theme: One cannot leave home without saying good-bye

When Guicing first came to Canada she was still tied to her home in China since she fully expected to return after a few years. However, things changed and she found she couldn't go back as she had anticipated. Her experience of Canada changed from that time: "At the beginning we think we will stay here only a couple of years and then we will go back. When I first came I found everything is good. Here is not a lot of people, not like China. In China when you walk on the street you have to make your own way, but here it's not. I also liked the environment because there's a lot of space and few people. Not like China, it's crowded. I liked the people, they're polite. I liked the idea of being here a couple of years, it's a good chance for us to know western world, western people. But since last June when Tiananmen happened in China it's hard for us to go back. So we have to stay at least a couple more years than we planned. So I don't like to become a permanent resident because I can't get the job that I like here. They won't recognize my teaching qualification. So I never can teach in the school. My principal wrote me a letter. They pay me eight months after I left. And later I applied and said I will stay here maybe a couple of years so they don't pay me but they still keep my position there and they're waiting for me."

Guicing's position as a teacher in China has been kept open for her return. This is a very real tie for her. She remains tied to the past because she knows she has her job waiting for her, whereas in Canada she does not know if she will ever be able to get a teaching position. Remaining tied to the past and being unable to see the future are features of the state of being known as homesickness. Guicing has not been able to reconcile herself to living in Canada. She is continually longing for China and its familiarity. She spends a lot of her time thinking and talking of her past in China: "Almost everyday we talk about something. I lived in China for more than thirty-five years so most of my memories are of the experience when we were in China. Here, I work as a cleaner so I use my hands, but not my brain, so when I work I always think about something from early childhood before; the life, the work, the friends, the relatives, maybe places I have been. I think both of us if something happen in China it's much better to go back. But now we can't, especially for him (her husband), it's not safe, they won't allow him to say anything what he wants. But we still feel maybe some day we can go back. For us we really think we're living in another country. If there is any chance, we will go back."

It seems that in thinking of China there is the taken-for-granted belief that everything will remain the same there. When something or someone is far from us we tend to think of the person or place as we knew them, forgetting that things may change:

> Loss is a magical preservative. Time stops at the point of severance, and no subsequent impressions muddy the picture you have in mind. The house, the garden, the country you have lost remain forever as you remember them. Nostalgia,- that most lyrical of feelings - crystallizes around these images like amber. Arrested within it, the house, the past, is clear, vivid, made more beautiful by the medium in which it is held and by its stillness. (Hoffman,

1989, p. 115)

Guicing's understanding is that she will be able to "go back" to the same continuity and permanence that seemed to prevail in her life before she left. Having roots in a place enables a sense of continuity and permanence. Changes in the flow of life are not experienced as breaks in this continuity, however immigration consists in such a break. It is an experience of being *uprooted.*

Guicing is tied to China in the very concrete fact that she knows she has a job waiting for her. Her persistent experience of homesickness is pervasive. But the ties to home need not be so all-encompassing. There are occasions when one's ties to another country might quite unexpectedly recall one. On these occasions, there is the possibility of homesickness, even though the person may not feel this *condition* in the continuous manner as experienced by Guicing. How is it possible to like a place but still be susceptible to a type of sickness because of being there?

Anecdotal theme: Homesickness

Objects from home have a propensity for bringing on homesickness. It was objects which Shayam[24] had brought from home to set around his room in Canada that triggered a severe case of homesickness: "The day my box arrived from Fiji I looked at it sitting in the middle of the room. I was afraid to open it. I had to strengthen myself. I had to wait for when I could be strong enough. The box took me back to my living room in Fiji."

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[24] Shayam comes from Fiji. An East Indian Fijian subjected to political harassment, he brought his family to Canada in the hope of establishing a peaceful life. With somewhat shy, nervous hand movements as he spoke, he told me of how he felt he'd been forced from where he thinks of as home.

The objects within the box took Shayam to another time, that time when he still had a home in a house many thousand kilometers from Canada. He knew he would feel homesick when he opened the box, that he would feel moved at the sight of familiar objects. It is not just the lack of familiar things that makes one feel homesick because the things are now here. Seeing them in a new place does not dispel the homesickness, instead it can intensify the feeling. So does homesickness have to do with seeing familiar things in unfamiliar places? Do these call forth memories accompanied by nostalgia? If so, why do we tend to bring things from home to set around us in a new place?

In the experience described above, the occurrence of the feeling of homesickness happened with the arrival of things from home. Their appearance took Shayam back to their familiar place which was in his home in Fiji. However, the feeling of homesickness can strike on occasions which do not include the presence of objects which one had in a previous home. Guicing and Zhou spoke of a time when they were shopping for clothes in Edmonton. They picked up an article and looked at the label, "Made in China." They became homesick as the word recalled their home: "It brought tears to my eyes as I saw the word 'China!' I felt like I was being pulled away. China, right here in Edmonton! I could almost see the ladies in the factories making this clothes. I know what the place is like where they are working. This make me sad, seeing the label."

In English the longing for home is referred to as a kind of sickness. In German the word *heimweh* has reference to a type of pain associated with being a way from home, as does the Polish word *tesknota*. The French call the longing for home *mal du pays* or *nostalgie*. The word 'nostalgia' was coined in 1678 by a Swiss medical student. It referred to an illness the symptoms of which included insomnia, anorexia and a persistent thinking of home. There came a time during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when doctors prescribed a journey back home for soldiers involved in war who seemed to be otherwise incurable (Rosen, 1975, pp. 29-49). This demonstrates that the importance of attachment to place was once well-recognised.

Although it was not until 1678 that the condition of home-longing was described as an illness, references to the condition in our literary inheritance date back much further. Homer wrote that Ulysses wept when he thought of home and the Bible has reference to weeping on the shores of Babylon:

> By the waters of Babylon
> There we sat down, yea, we wept
> When we remembered Zion. (Psalm 137:1)

The experiential quality of the absence of place is referred to in many languages. Although the words may not actually mean sickness, they do refer to a type of pain or ache. In all languages the feeling of the absence of home consists in an experience of something *other than well-being*. So the question remains, what is the nature of this sickness?

Rosen (1975) in a review of the literature concerning nostalgia tells of a study done in 1821 which divided the course of the "disease" into various stages. According to the study, people affected by nostalgia tend to show symptoms of exaggeration of the "imaginative faculty" and "think of their homes as delightful and enchanting, no matter how rude and poverty-stricken they may be" (p. 42). Despite the poverty of the home country it seems that some people feel that there was more laughter and happiness there than in the new country. A kind of loyalty to home prevails:

> [T]he young man started to ask me - or rather, to tell me - about life in India. With my husband interpreting for us, he remarked, "The Indian people are very poor." "Yes, they are." "I have seen photographs. They have few clothes and many have no shoes." "That's true." "Most of them are uneducated." "Yes." "Many beggars on the streets." "Yes." "It must be very distressing to live in such a country." "No--" I began, suddenly feeling very homesick. (Rau, 1990, p.338)

One's allegiance to the home country remains despite a rationalistic awareness of the problems of that country. It is even possible for homesickness to occur.

Since we call it a "sickness", we should ponder the significance of this term. A sickness has causes, symptoms and duration. Is homesickness like a viral sickness which requires that our own antibodies overcome it? Indeed, we must "anti-body" the old space of our lived experience of home and aquaint our bodies with the new place. For a period of time our bodies still inhabit home; I continue to look the wrong way before crossing the road and it is said that even after a driver has become accustomed to driving on a different side of the road and has been doing so safely for a long time, there is, especially in a moment of crisis, the tendency for the body to return to the old direction. In yet another way homesickness has elements of a virus. It lies dormant for periods of time and then quite unexpectedly strikes, causes pain, and then retreats until the next time. Nevertheless, how do we catch it? Or rather, how does it catch us? Does it catch us when we are more susceptible in particular circumstances? Does it catch us through the things of home? Mole, in *Wind in the Willows*, experiences the pain of being unexpectedly caught by the smell of home:

> Meanwhile, the wafts from his old home pleaded, whispered, conjured, and finally claimed him imperiously. He dared not tarry in their magic circle. With a wrench that tore his heartstrings he set his face down the road and followed submissively in the track of Rat, while faint, thin little smells, still dogging his retreating nose, reproached him for his new friendship and his callous forgetfulness. (1908, p. 86)

Homesickness caught me unawares through the likeness here of something very familiar to me at home. I caught sight of it and I saw a view of my home. It disoriented me for a moment. Momentarily, I felt the familiar ache associated with being away from home.

Like other sicknesses, homesickness does seem to have causes, symptoms and duration: "Nearly every symptom known to man has been interpreted at one time or another as nostalgia" (McCann, 1941, p. 166). Consequently, as with our common-sense understanding and empathy with sufferers of physical sicknesses, we commonly seem to have some kind of understanding of what it means to be homesick. The need for a sense of home for our total well-being is sufficiently understood that we can be aware of what it is like for others to be apart from home, just as we can be aware of what it is like to suffer from a disturbance in physical well-being. Is this because it lives in everybody's body as some kind of pre-condition?

Missed intimacy with people is often a cause for homesickness. We are more susceptible to the sickness when we are lonely, when we miss the presence of our closest friends and relations. One of the most vivid times of the occurrence of homesickness for Yatta[25] was when she was in hospital in England while she was there studying: "No-one came to visit me. The only people who ever spoke to me were the doctors and nurses. I felt a stabbing pain in my heart each day at visiting time as I saw all the other patients receiving visitors. The nurse brought me a bunch of flowers from a classmate. I was aware that flowers meant a lot to people in the western culture but the violets meant nothing to me as an African. What I would have treasured most would have been a visitor; the friendly face and smile of someone who cared. No-one came until I was discharged. In that strange country I was all alone."

Being away from home, sometimes we experience the loss of intimacy with self, others and place: "I find that there is some sort of loss of identity," said Patricia. "Like I came here and all of a sudden I'm nobody. Over there if I went to the university for example or some job, people would know, 'Oh it's the daughter of so and so' (I don't mean like titles) but people know she's the friend of so and so or the daughter or whatever but here you're just a number. It's that feeling that I have."

Yet still, missed intimacy is not all there is to homesickness. The term "intimacy" is used here in a particular sense; it "designates *here* merely the degree of reliable knowledge we have of another person or of a social relationship, a group, a cultural pattern or a thing" (Schutz, 1971, p.113). Lacking this sense of familiarity can be "sickening", making us feel homesick. For example, I felt homesick when a person made a comment about my accent because I couldn't make myself understood. Homesickness hit me like a fist in the stomach as I suddenly tired of lacking immediate familiarity. I wanted to be at home where people don't strain to understand me, don't listen to the *sounds* of my words, where I belong in the "accent community."

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[25] Yatta is a doctoral student from Sierra Leone who has spent several years in both Canada and Britain. She is accustomed to being away from her country but has never got used to being asked to repeat what she says to people. She feels this as a constant reminder about her absence from where she feels she truly belongs.

We do not only miss the people dear to us when we feel the pain of homesickness. I may miss being close to my family very often, yet this feeling is not always accompanied by homesickness. I am longing to see them, yet this does not constitute the sickness. Additionally, missed intimacy is not merely associated with missing people. It can occur in the midst of people when what they say or do strikes us as strange or incomprehensible and we are confronted with the awareness of being different and therefore separate. Celebrations can be such occasions as they may have a significance peculiar to a particular country.

Jim told me of his feelings of homesickness during celebrations in Australia: "The day of the Melbourne Cup was about the longest day of my life. These guys stopped working about ten a.m. and we all went to the bar to get drunk and watch this horse race on the television. The drinking and the build-up on the television before this race seemed interminable. I couldn't understand what all the fuss was about and I just wanted to get out of there."

Times of familiar celebrations may also cause homesickness as both

Anna and Yatta recalled. Anna[26] spoke of the time when homesickness hit her at a shopping centre because of their Christmas decorations. She felt she should be home with her parents. It was at this time of the year that Yatta again felt particularly homesick: "It was my first Christmas in England. I looked out the window and saw the beautiful snow and heard the Christmas carols coming from the small radio in my room. Was there no-one I could talk to? I burst into tears."

Many occasions have the propensity to make us miss home: "Coming here, Christmas is so different because of the snow," said Patricia. "Over there it's really crowded on the street, not in the mall but on the street. People carrying many goods and it's such a party time. I remember Christmas day is so pretty and you visit your friends and family and we also have fireworks. Santa Claus is very recent, it's more religious there. Here it is more commercial and we have different tradition. It's like a different spirit. And even like we had this tradition of everybody being altogether to open the gifts. And here I feel so sad. My first Xmas was terribly sad. And my birthday is in November and I always remember my birthday being a beautiful day. And last year was my first birthday in Canada. It was awful. It was grey and snowing. Those special days that have meaning for me and El Salvador people I remember and I know that in El Salvador there will be a celebration or a mass or something and here I am with all these peope who don't know anything about it. Celebrations there are more fun. I think we had more laughter and fun."

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[26] Anna is a single lady in her twenties who left South Africa to live and work in Canada for two years to assess the possibility of immigrating permanently. She is torn between the rational argument to stay in Canada because of the uncertain future of South Africa, and the emotional argument which draws her to live where she feels is home.

Celebrations have more significance to our lives than is commonly understood:

> The festive celebration is more than a mere outer adornment of life or a break after a period of hard work. Rather, we need to grasp the notion of celebration in its deeper significance, as a necessary function in human life. We experience it best in the results of the mood of celebration, in the festival itself... in its relationship to the world and to other people... The human being moves out of the isolation of his or her everyday existence into a situation of great bliss and finds himself or herself accepted into a new communion. It is not just that the experience of this communion brings the person into deep happiness; it is, on the contrary, that the enhanced mood of the festive situation allows him or her to experience this communion. (Bollnow, 1989, pp. 69, 70)

Since celebrations are so closely related to our lived experience of others, to our sense of belonging in the community, they become a time when our sense of separateness from the significant others of our lives is enhanced. We cannot experience the joy of the celebration because we do not feel the sense of communion with the group who is celebrating. As Bollnow says,

> It cannot be experienced passively. It requires a spontaneous participation. Only through one's participation can one submerge oneself in this special mood which is so different from the consciousness of everyday life. (p. 72)

It seems that the joy of Christmas and such celebrations come through the participation and sense of community which they enhance. However, people who are away from home at this time feel their "outsiderness" more acutely; they are not "of the family" of this celebration, either because the celebration is not *familiar* as in Jim's case with the Melbourne Cup, or because they are not with their families, as in the case of Anna, Yatta, Patricia and others.

Linked to the notion of celebration is the over-all experience of time. Patricia mentioned that she often gets homesick on Sundays because she misses the outings to her family home. Again, the homesickness consists in the special experience of a particular time. In these times she looks back fondly to her life in the past. And she consoles herself by telling herself that she is only here for a few more years. To speak of a future away from home is to deny home and its future. What can make one homesick is looking to the future without the assurance of home.

The lived time of homesickness is a special mode of time. It is a future-less experience of time. We cannot envisage a future in a place which is so unfamiliar, we have lost the future of home and now are living time differently. It is truly a "marking-time" of time; just as the soldiers "mark time" and go nowhere as they wait for the time to move forward, the lived time of homesickness seems to hover in that momentary pause as each leg is held in the air in anticipation of its return to earth. The sense of not knowing when we are going to move forward can indeed be "sickening" since the lived present of everyday life has a future built into it (cf. this study Ch. 4).

In a state of uncertainty we may take ourselves back home, or it calls us back through its things to remind us that it is still there and may still offer us its warmth:

> He saw clearly how plain and simple it - how narrow, even - it all was; but clearly too, how much it all meant to him, and the special value of some such anchorage in one's existence. He did not at all want to abandon the new life and its splendid spaces, to turn his back on sun and air and all they offered him and creep home and stay there; the upper world was all too strong, it called to him still, even down there, and he knew he must return to the larger stage. But it was good to think that he had this to come back to, this place which was all his own, these things which were so glad to see him again and could always be counted upon for the same simple welcome. (Grahame, 1908, p. 100)

Perhaps this need for the certainty of home is a pre-condition for making the effort to get over homesickness. All sicknesses have to be either cured, controlled or managed unless they are going to kill us. There is no medical talk of curing homesickness, so sufferers must find their own ways of coping with the sickness.

Can one overcome this sickness? Can it be cured? I have heard many stories which describe the sudden unexpectedness with which homesickness takes hold of its victim. One can be fine for weeks, even months, and then homesickness will strike. A novel by Vanderhaege (1989) called *Homesick* tells of an elderly man, who, after living in Canada for forty years, suddenly returns to wearing his fedora in the house as he relives experiences of his home country. So, although the sickness may be absent for a length of time, it seems as though it is merely dormant. We do not get "cured" of attacks although they may become less severe and less frequent.

Can it be controlled? In one sense, definitely not. All the stories of homesickness tell of its dominance. It descends on you unexpectedly. It can take you unawares, and when in the grip of homesickness you have to succumb to it. It is not within our power to control its arrival. However, as we all learn to live with the flu virus and do our best to keep it at bay, so we can learn to manage homesickness. For a time we have to give in to homesickness and let it run its course through our bodies. We may go to a quiet place and cry for a while or we may take out photographs and indulge ourselves in feeling sad. These strategies seem to play a necessary part in "cleansing" ourselves of the ailment. Then we can move on, move forward. We can keep ourselves busy with work and social events, we can try new activities. We can arrange our lives to avoid the loneliness that is often very inviting to the homesickness bug. When I first came to Canada it was important to get a timetable organised so that the *week-time* of the new environment had my own schedule built into it. The timetable also meant I had organised some "future" for myself.

It is not likely that a cure exists, however homesickness is a condition that each person must cope with in his or her own way. It seems that it can go into remission. Yet there is no definitive numerical value for when "remission" can be termed "cure." Often it is the little things that make a house a home and so it is that the little things may suddenly remind us of home.

Theme one: Home is where we are tied to.

We are tied to our homes through the people that share so much of our history. These "people cannot be replaced" because no-one else shares that history with us. And it seems that one has to decide to leave home before a successful departure can be made: "one cannot leave home without saying good-bye." There are some aspects of home that are frequently recalled through things from home or things in the new country which remind us of home and such occurrences may bring on a feeling of "homesickness." Many facets of life are experienced in such a way that it seems that *home is where we are tied to*. However, this does not negate the possibility of making other ties in the second country, thereby building a home-like quality through new things or people. How can the pedagogy of ESL be sensitive to the possibility of missing the things of home and the need to work toward creating new ties?

If we want to help others to form new ties, it may be useful to consider the ways in which the ties to the home country are recalled. Among some of the ways in which home can be recalled are the sense of space, the colors and the "things" of home. So it may be important to try to create in the classroom a sense of space which is comfortable for the students. Attention to the classroom environment is an important feature of elementary teaching, but it sometimes gets overlooked when the students are adults. But the feeling that a particular place gives us is quite pervasive and it may be that in some simple things such as the arrangement of furniture, the decor of the room and "things" from students' home countries it is possible to create a space that is less alienating than it may otherwise be.

Forming ties with people is a significant dimension of becoming tied to a place. Teachers can foster the development of friendships within the classroom group by organizing many situations where students can come into contact with each other in less formal settings than the classroom. It is possible to help organize interest groups or car-pooling, or even help the students to discover others who may take the same bus route to class. The teacher can play an important role in helping students to overcome the natural tendency towards shyness in a situation where there may be many nationalities that do not understand each other. Any classroom can be an educative context for teachers and students. And in the ESL context participants have a special opportunity to learn about themselves and others through breaking out of the natural attitude and take-for-grantedness of their home vision. Being attentive to the Other opens up a richness in front of us. And through the possibility of new understandings thus achieved there may be the chance to form new ties to the people and things of the new country.

Anecdotal theme: The cosiness of language

Liane[27] spoke about her feelings for speaking the Bavarian dialect: "Bavarian is still my language, not even German. It's where I can express myself best I think. The tongue goes easier with Bavarian, things just come out the way they're supposed to more easily. Bavarian has a sort of cosiness, a special sort of sense that I don't get with any other language."

Just as there is a feeling of comfort in a place which we call home, there is a way of feeling comfortable in a language. Indeed, just as a place can feel comfortable and one likes the place, yet it is not quite home, so it seems to be in language. It seems that there is a certain intimacy and "fit" to a language which makes one feel at ease while using one language rather than another.

There is a certain intimacy to a "family language" that corresponds to the intimacy of family life. To do away with the family language or to replace it with another tends to trivialize the nature of the intimate language (Rodriguez, 1981, p. 12). So the question is raised whether a home in a new country and a new language is really "home."

"I never can be happy with my English," said Huy. "I think I couldn't be happy because up till now I never find my English is good enough so I don't think I'll be happy in the future. I really feel bad when I find my English is inferior to somebody's English. Because this I came across lots of times even not with the native speakers. See my boss was not born in Canada but he was born in Holland but of course he's been here for over twenty years already but sometimes I just feel my English is too inferior to his English. That's one example but lots of times I feel that way. I feel really bad. I just think I have to improve my English until someday it's as good as his."

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[27] Liane emigrated to Canada with her parents as a girl of sixteen. Now twenty-three, she still feels like an outsider in Canada, although her English has very little trace of a German accent. She believes she is more serious-minded than many of her contemporaries, and she finds her peer group to be superficial. Liane misses the significance of tradition in her life.

Huy said that he feels at home in Canada in everything except the language. He has a certain sense of homeness, yet it is not quite home because there is the difference that the language creates. And he feels that he will never be happy with his language performance. If one can never be happy with one's language performance, can one ever become "at home" in that language? To what extent does language have a *home* quality that can be missed? If one can never be happy in the language of the country in which one is living, what is it that may cause this unhappiness?

For Huy, the thought of not sounding like a native speaker is disconcerting to him, whereas the knowledge that he does not look like a home-bred Canadian does not bother him. How can the reminder that language effects be equally powerful for Huy as the reminder of the physical difference is for Lam?

The desire to become native-sounding in English can become like a stumbling block to one's sense of self, as Zhou said: "Now since I decided to settle down here I feel I have to make myself sound like a native speaker. And then I started to listen to myself. I hate this voice. I used to enjoy my English, I thought it was good but now I hate it."

It seems that the experience of not sounding native may be that of not being completely at ease with oneself in interactions with native speakers, or in a professional capacity. Having such a sense of *dis-ease* with oneself does not constitute a sense of being at home in a place. Being at home means being at ease.

It is possible to feel at peace in the house of the new country, and even within the circle of friends, but during conversation or interaction with other native speakers the peace disappears: "I feel very happy in the house and with my family. It is a peace we did not have in Poland. But talking to other people from Canada or something, this is stress for me. I must always try to improve my English. I always have the feeling like a foreigner because of language," said Eva.

The persistent need to "improve" tends to hang over non-native speakers. And when we are constantly striving to improve we are not at rest, there is not the stillness that is associated with real rest and peace: "When I am here," said Iza[28], "I am always tired. It is just so tiring to constantly have to speak English. I am always working so hard mentally."

There seems to be a stressful feeling associated with speaking a language with which one is not familiar. And stress is not usually associated with the peaceful feeling of being at home. Home "feels like a long lost friend.[1]" When we are with a very close friend to whom we have *returned*, so to speak, there is a feeling of ease and trust, of having no need to be anything other than oneself. The experience of always feeling like a foreigner discloses the felt distance from being at home. One does not feel like a foreigner when one feels on the inside instead of the outside.

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[28] Iza looked sadly at the table much of the time during our conversation. She and her husband left behind their only daughter when they went to Greece to make enough money to return to Poland and buy an apartment. However, economic and political instability in Poland encouraged them to take the offered chance to migrate to Canada. Desperately unhappy, they continue to try to be re-united with their daughter.

The experiential difference between feeling at home in a place and not feeling so is somewhat like the difference between being at work and at one's own house: "Living in Canada for me is like when I was going to work in my own country. At work we had to be careful of how to behave and watch all the rules. You could not really relax," said Maciek.

Without a native-like fluency of language, there is the possibility of a sense of uneasiness; there is not total relaxation. Further, it can be the case that just at the moments where one would expect to be able to take the language for granted, where it is at its most conventional, then at these times it can be most jarring. I cannot get used to the phrase "You're welcome" which is offered so automatically when one in North America thanks someone for something. I am constantly reminded of being away from the "home" of language when I hear that phrase. The Australian phrase, "No worries" seems so much less formal.

But what is it in language that can have the effect of touching us in such a way? What is it in language that has a sense of homeness about it that can be missed in a foreign language?

Anecdotal theme: Words have a certain connection

"Sometimes I use English instead of Polish even when I'm speaking to Polish people because to describe the English style of life it's best to use English," said Basia. "You can't describe some things in Polish. It's like speaking about *Perestroika*, it's best to speak of it in Russian because there is so much of the culture that is meant by this word that you can't understand in English. It doesn't have the cultural context and connection. It's the same in Polish. You can't describe some things even if you know English perfect. There is a word that is so connected with Cracow and the sound of the word brings you closer to whole atmosphere and emotions of *plante*. You just can't get that if you use the English translation. And all the connections you have in your brain of this place. It means for me Cracow culture and people. Some names are the same in Polish and English yet they're not. Like Marek, Mark, and you know you're a different person if you are called Marek. The sound of the word puts you in the cultural context I think. Like me here I'm called Basia not Barbara in this house, that's the nickname for Barbara. And when I lived in London people who knew me called me Basia because this is part of me from Poland. At first I hated being called the English way. The Polish way is closer to me. I don't like the English way, it is very formal, very cold. It's as if I was a part of a different world. I'm the Polish way. But I introduce myself here as the English way because it is easier. At the beginning it was awful for me but now it is just convenient. But at the beginning when people called me the English way I didn't like them. It was just not me."

Words seem to have a certain power. The Polish translation of some English words does not quite have the same evocative power as does the English word. Conversely, there are occasions when no English word can evoke the quality of the Polish word. There is an intimate connection between a word and home, whether the word refers to a feature of home or a person. There is a certain "fit" to the word that cannot be replaced by another sign. Words have a certain *texture*. And "when we know the texture of things we feel comfort, security, and belonging as when we see familiarity in the face" (jagodzinski, 1990, p. 13).

Anecdotal theme: Words can lose us

Patricia mentioned her experience of being in a classroom with many teenagers much younger than her usual contact group: "At the planned parenthood course they were all young adults, making fun and jokes and having fun and I felt lost. I didn't understand what they were laughing about. I didn't understand their jokes. Or they used a lot of slang and I didn't understand. That part takes a lot of time, and I get really lost."

The experience of being "lost" in the language indicates the experiential quality of being away from home base. We do not get lost when we know our way around.

A word in a language is not a sign but a symbol, and in being a symbol it pulls into the present what is not present and points us to something beyond. There is a transcendent quality of words:

> [B]eneath spoken language, whose sounds and sentences are cleverly suited to ready-made significations [there is] an operant or speaking language whose words have a silent life like the animals at the bottom of the ocean and come together or separate according to the needs of their lateral or indirect signification. (Merleau-Ponty, 1973, p. 87)

The dialogue of movies, television and jokes tends to reveal the phenomenon of indirect signification. Thus, the language of these genres is difficult for many immigrants. It is possible to understand the words but not the meaning: "I notice that if I watch Chinese television programs I can appreciate the subtleties of it; I can see a lot of the tiny things like hints and metaphors. But when I watch Canadian television I understand the whole story but I can't appreciate the subtleties. And sometimes I go to the movies and I don't understand what they are laughing about. I understand the words but not the meaning. I've started to wonder if I'll ever be able to know the language that well," said Zhou.

Anecdotal theme: Names have a certain "fit"

It is difficult for some people to get used to their name being pronounced in a different way. Basia said she disliked her name being pronounced in the English way and that it just did not feel like it *meant* her. For Leszek, being called something other than his own name is not an option that he is willing to consider, even though it can be shortened and become fairly English sounding: "With my first name, some people are very lazy and they say 'We will call you Les.' I say 'No. You will call me Leszek. You have to try it.' I don't need to change my name. This is very old Slavic name and some of the Polish kings had this name. It is rather rare. Some people say my name with good accent but many people pronounce it wrong and the way they say it is like a two or three year old Polish kid who is learning to talk. It is the same way that kids say it when they can't pronounce the sound right. It sounds very funny for me. But I don't think that I have to make my name different. It is not too difficult for people to try it."

It seems that there is a certain power in names, that they can have a claim over us as much as we may have a claim over them. There is a certain "fitness" of names:

> The word is understood primarily as a name. But a name is what it is because it is what someone is called and what he answers to. It belongs to its bearer. The rightness of the name is confirmed by the fact that someone answers to it. Thus it seems to belong to his being. (Gadamer, 1989, p. 405)

Thus, some people feel an affinity to their own name and resent being called something different. Anything other than their name simply does not *call* them.

In some cultures it is not acceptible to use a person's first name as freely as is the case in the western culture. In China the use of the first name is reserved for those people who are intimate with one another. In Canada, however, Guicing and Zhou found that they were expected to use first names for most people. This causes a feeling of discomfort: "You know, I'm not used to first names. In China first name is for very private, very intimate relationship. One of the professors I know said to call her Dianne. But it's hard for that to be out of my mouth. So after that I never called her anything."

The intimacy of a particular language situation at home is thus thrown into what would normally be considered not suitable for such intimacy. This transposition of a home-like intimate quality to a name results in a constant reminder of not being at home.

A certain something gets lost in translation from one language to another: "Our language is more expressive. We have a lot of words to say 'sad.' And I don't think that when I use 'sad' in English that it says what I want it to say," said Monica. There is the experienced loss of the "living connection" between the words she would rather use and those signs with which she is left in her second language.

There is a quality to words and it is difficult to appreciate the quality without an historical/cultural perspective:

> When my friend Penny tells me that she's envious, or happy, or disapppointed, I try laboriously to translate not from English to Polish but from the word back to its source, to the feeling from which it springs. Already, in that moment of strain, spontaneity of response is lost. And anyway, the translation doesn't work. I don't know how Penny feels when she talks about envy. The word hangs in a Platonic stratosphere, a vague prototype of all envy, so large, so all-encompassing that it might crush me - as might disappointment or happiness... [T]his radical disjoining between word and thing is a desiccating alchemy, draining the world not only of significance but of its colors, striations, nuances - its very existence. It is the loss of a living connection. (Hoffman, 1989, p. 107)

The manner in which the name of something may be inherent to the thing itself is evidenced in Stefan's[29] words: "When I came back to Germany and was showing my slides of my trip in Canada I could only remember the English words of some of those things. I found it very difficult to translate some of the names into German. For example, when I showed the photos of the water slides I just could not think of any name other than 'water slide.'"

Words have a propensity to call forth a world (Bain, 1980, 1990; Cassirer, 1944; Buber, 1949). The phenomenon of "word realism" manifests itself in various ways, some positive and some negative (Bain, 1990). One of the manifestations which is applicable to the case of immigrants learning English is that

> language tends to create its own sphere of reality which, in some experiential sense, is at least as real as the perceived world. Over

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[29] Stefan came to Canada to work for four months. His intention was to practice his English while gaining work experience. He told me of how toward the end of his period in Canada he was beginning to have some difficulty recalling the German words for some things. It seems that during that time period, while he moved into a mode of "thinking in English," he was at the same time moving away from the close familiarity of his native language.

> the course of development, the reality of language assumes priority over the concrete reality. (Bain, 1990, p. 23)

For immigrants, then, it is conceivable that the reality of their first language comes into question through the second language. The concrete reality of the world must be looked at afresh in order that the new language reality can be understood. Perhaps to a certain extent there is a new world in the new words. The language of the Aranda, an Australian Aboriginal tribe, uses the same word for 'to be called by a name' and 'to trust' and 'to believe.' Each of the meanings is covered by the one word, *tnakama*. So, to have a name is to trust in the thing and believe in its existence. The Aborigines do not have names for plants or features of the landscape which do not exist in their own area. If an Aborigine tells you that a particular plant has no name, what is meant is that the plant does not grow in his or her part of the country (Chatwin, 1987, pp. 300-302).

Anecdotal theme: The play of words

Despite the seeming power that words have over us, there is also the possibility that we have with words: "If I'm writing something in Polish I can play with words, I can make the meaning better than or different than it was before. But if I translate something from Polish to English I can't play with the words the same. I have to just say it the best way I can. It sounds so straight. But you can do this a nicer way, with better expression. It's a different way to know a language and I think it maybe takes too long for me to ever be able to do this the best way," Leszek said.

Playing with words for the sake of non-prosaic expression is an example of this feature of language. There is a certain *languagely* quality of words that allow us to to mould them into new significations. However, this requires that the language is well-known and well-lived in.

> An aspect of play is that there is movement which is
>
> not only without goal or purpose but also without effort. It happens, as it were, by itself. The ease of play - which naturally does not mean that there is any real absence of effort but refers phenomenologically only to the absence of strain - is experienced subjectively as relaxation. (Gadamer, 1989, p. 105).

For second language learners there is indeed a considerable amount of effort involved in using the language. Being able to play with words is a way of being relaxed in the language, at home in the language and its own way of behaviour. For many immigrants, this is an aspect of the *homeness* of language that is absent in the second language. The language of the linguists is translatable, but language as a system of interpretation and expression is more than a catalogue. There exists surrounding every word and sentence possible "fringes" (Shutz, 1971, p. 100) of meaning which connect themselves to an aura of emotional value. Knowledge of such "fringes" does not come about through a *taught* language. It is the very stuff of the experience of language which is encountered through life in the language itself.

Anecdotal theme: Language at home

The language of home is the language *for* home. As Eva said, "We always speak in Polish to our children in the house. Well sometimes we try to speak in English but it is very short conversation. It is easier (to speak Polish) and my English is not so very good so I could be a bad model for my children."

When "at home" in their houses in Canada, immigrants tend to speak their first language. When one is in the inner sanctuary of the house it seems appropriate that the language should also be one of relaxation.

For parents whose children are growing up to learn a language other than that of their parents, there is an experience of inadequacy in terms of the second language. The first language then remains the language of home, the language which allows the parents to remain "the model" for the children. Outside of the home, parents must allow for other influential factors in the lives of their children, but within the home the traditional parenting role is retained. To start to speak to one's own children in a language in which the children are better seems to be experienced as a negative possibility for parenting.

Language belongs to home in a particular way that may sometimes only be recalled through home itself: "When I went back to Czechoslavakia I had not been there for twelve years. And in all that time I had not spoken very much of my own language. At first when I went home I had some trouble to speak Czech. But after only a few days it all came back to me and it seemed that I could say whatever I wanted. But when I'm here in Canada I have difficulty to think how to say something in Czech." It seems that Jiri[30] can only find his language through the space of the home of that language.

Guicing and Zhou said that they have made many agreements to atttempt to speak to each other in English at home instead of in Chinese. However, the good intentions of turning home conversation into practice situations continually fails: "Every morning the first word is always Chinese. It is too difficult to talk to each other when we have to think, What is the word for something?"

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[30] Jiri, from Czechoslovakia, is almost more Canadian than Canadians in his love for the Rocky Mountains. I met and spoke with him as we were part of a group going back-packing for the week-end. As we hiked in the country he loves so well I could see without needing his words to tell me that his feeling for the mountains has surpassed any feelings of nationalism for his own country.

The situation of being at home does not lend itself especially well to the *dis-ease* of speaking the language which is not familiar. In the family, the familiar language is appropriate.

The *languagely* way of home is missed in situations where one would normally expect to feel at ease and relaxed. Zhou tells of the situations of social gatherings: "If our class have a party, in Chinese way, everyone I know I would greet first. But here, maybe I just meet the person beside me. And I just talk to them. Others I may just ignore. Also entering a class, in Chinese way we always say hello to everybody and here you just sit there and talk to those nearby and we don't greet everybody. I always felt that something was maybe wrong if some poeple don't greet me. I thought it's because the relationship is not going well, maybe there are some problems I don't know about. Anyway I found this is just the way."

Some social situations are examples of occasions where a familiar way to behave through language is altered in the behaviour through the second language. Immigrants may have to behave in and through language in a way that is not the way of home. The new place of living is qualitatively different to the first home.

The language of home can be missed just as home itself is missed. Zhou told of his time in Germany with a contingent of Chinese people on a business tour: "When I was in Germany, we, as a group of Chinese, were walking on the street when this man came running up to us and asked if we were from China. He had heard us and he wanted to speak Chinese with us.

He had been in Germany for over a year and had no chance to speak Chinese. He just wanted to speak Chinese and hear about China. He followed us that afternoon when we were shopping and talked to us the whole time."

The Chinese man in Germany had an experience of home through his home language. For him, home was recalled through language. For Jiri, language was recalled through home.

And one need not come from a different language background to experience the loss of "language." I found that I missed the sound of the Australian accent and particular words. When a friend joined me recently in Canada I commented to him how nice it was to be able to "talk Australian!" What we both found so relaxing and comfortable was being able to use our own words and expressions without getting blank stares from people. We freely spoke of getting "petrol" for the car, putting the shopping in the "boot" and putting on our "jumpers!" Some of the comfort and feeling of homeness seems to have been associated with the words of home. The "languagely" way of being-in-the-world could be a source of loss for immigrants who have to learn a new language. There may be the loss of a feeling of togetherness which language has the propensity to foster as it "swells with a meaning which overflows into the other person when the act of speaking binds them up into a single whole" (Merleau-Ponty, 1964, p. 235).

Theme two: Home without a "languagely" homeness is not quite home.

The stories of the people I spoke with indicated the anecdotal themes which concerned "the cosiness of language," "that words have a certain connection," "words can lose us," "names have a certain fit," "words have a certain play," and that "the language of home is the language for home." The sub-themes seem to be subsumed under the larger theme, *Home without a "languagely" homeness is not quite home.* There is a "languagely" way of being in the world which is initially lost when one immigrates. The world of language and the language of world change for each individual. Immigrants must try to come to a new understanding of their own being and becoming, an understanding of their identities which are given a new slant in the context of the new country and the new language. To learn a second language is to come to a new way of experiencing the world. Learning a new language becomes the possibility of re-reading self.

But the positive possibility of re-reading self must be accompanied by attempts to close the distancing feeling which may arise when using the second language. The pedagogy of ESL should be attentive to ways in which the alienating feeling of a second language can be diminished.

A total reliance on text books in the ESL classroom further distances people from the language they are learning. There is a vernacular quality to language which grows out of the common relevances of a community (Illich, 1983). The classroom could be such a community if there were more emphasis on using language that has grown from the people and the teaching situation. Meaning is inherent to the activity which construes it and so language learners could benefit from more involvement in construing meaning from the lives of the people in the classroom. The text book concerns other people and other lives, perhaps totally foreign to the learners. And the text book distances learners from an activity of building meaning since it presents something already given. Language could become more intimate, more meaningful when it springs from the people themselves and what they want to say.

If newcomers to a country reflect seriously on what they like and dislike about their new life they come to the space where they question themselves and their ability to remain in the country. They have to consider what is lost and gained through their new life. They have to ponder their way of being and what they hope to become, evaluating the possibilities in the new country. They are forced to ask of themselves the question which is the focus of the next chapter, Can I stay here?

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1. I borrow these words from John Denver's song Back Home Again.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CAN I STAY HERE?

What is the significance of the question, "Can I stay here?" It is a question concerned with the future, of where a person is going, just as it is a question of staying. Yet, it is more. Implicated in the question is reflection on *I*. Can *I*, as I am now, stay here? Or is it possible that the *I* I hope to become indeed be fulfilled in this new country? Can *I* become the way the country may shape me? Can the *I* that I have been be integrated with the *I* of my future here?

And what of the concept, *staying*? One can stay in a place at different levels of meaning and experience. We *stay* in a hotel, or at a friend's house. But this is a particular mode of staying. It differs from being at home when we are not just temporary, when we can truly *be* and *become*. Superficially, *staying* means to remain in the one place. But life usually leads us on to somewhere, even without moving house or country. Staying in a place requires a sense of purpose, of "going somewhere." So the question of staying in the new country needs an awareness of ability not to stay but to move on to a purposeful future.

The location of *here* is also significant since it raises the question of the breadth of *here*. It is possible to make a house or an apartment into a place which feels like home, but for most people there is the need to embrace the larger world. *Here* goes beyond the house and questions the world of *here*.

So implicated in the question, Can I stay here? is the dialectic between rest and journey, inside and outside and being and becoming.

When people at home initially asked me how long I would be staying in Canada I could not give them an answer. It required too much detachment from home to say that I would be away for at least three years. Like Mole in *Wind in the Willows*, I felt that my home may reproach me for my callous forgetfulness. The feeling persisted when I first arrived in Canada. I would only answer that I did not know. How can one deny one's own life history that is one's home? To admit to leaving for an indefinite time is tantamount to saying that this history is of no significance to your life. To speak of a future away from home is to deny home and its future. So we have a question of the future, yet for many immigrants the lived-time of the present does not include the future. The future is too indistinct, plans are too tentative. It is hard to look to the future without the assurance of home.

Yet, there must be a future. As Langeveld (1975) said,

> we have then to accept an orientation also to the future and not only to "what happened" and "where we are now," though we must not ignore the facts of every day reality. (p. 11)

So two aspects of being at home are inherent in Langeveld's statement. One is that there must be an orientation to the future, the other that there must be an integration of the past and the present with the future. The question of being at home in a place or with oneself is not a matter of severing one's past and attempting to deny that life history. Rather, one's past, present and possibility for the future must all inform one another.

Anedotal theme: Children and the future

The question concerning whether or not one can stay in the new country is a self-reflective one, involving an examination of what is missed and gained in the new place. For some, there is inevitability in having to stay. There must be a sort of acceptance of what has changed in one's life. Lam's words evoke a sense of resignation to his situation: "Things started to get better as my language improved and my knowlege of the Canadian society improved," said Lam. "But still I was thinking of going back to Vietnam if it was a free country. And as I get older I would like to go back. But now I have two children and they're Canadian. They don't know anything about Vietnam. So the hopes of going back to Vietnam are decreasing. My wife also wants to go back. She still listens to Vietnamese music and watches Vietnamese movies. But now I have no choice. I have the children, they go to school. If I would have my pick I wouldn't choose to live in Canada. But that is not to say that I am not always trying. Trying to be friendly. I try to go to school, I try to know what is happening around me in this society. But there are things that I cannot adapt to. If you go to work they like to talk about hockey or football and they're very into drinking. I can never adopt that lifestyle. I often think of going back to Vietnam even though I think that this is wrong to think like that. I should just forget the past and accept the challenge to make a new living. But still I would prefer to be living in my own country where everybody is like you."

For Lam, to stay in Canada is a future of "trying." He must try to understand and *meet* the others of his new country. But there are things from which he feels he will forever be estranged. He yearns for the familiarity of home. In his story there is the hint of resignation for the sake of his children. His children are his stake in the future and since they are Canadian, he must put the thought of returning to Vietnam away from himself. It seems as if there is a matter of life choice and the future of the children becomes more important than that of his own familiarity. Lam's mode of staying in Canada is possibly more like the person who lives in someone else's house for a time; one tries to make oneself at ease, but in the very trying the experience of being at home, at ease, is lost. As Zhou said of the time he stayed with his friend when he first arrived in Canada: "I was always conscious of trying not to disturb him. And he was always so attentive and polite to me. When you are at home such attentiveness and politeness is not normal."

Lam seems to have subordinated the *becoming* of his own identity for the sake of his children. He no longer addresses the question of whether he can stay here, but acknowledges that he will stay for the benefit of his children.

Having children and grandchildren in Canada makes the decision to stay in Canada for some people: "Home is where your kids are," said Manjit[31]. "For the sake of my daughter I will stay here," said Patricia. In the history of immigration and settlement of new lands, people have "found a new home, wherever their children were born.[1]"

The significance of the link between children, home and the future was evident in the meaning of home in the days of Antiquity. In Virgil's *The Destruction of Troy*, the heart of the home was the women's quarters where the children lived. It was the sacred place. It was the women's quarters rather than the men's where the family goods were stored. The women's quarters were described as the place wherein lay the hope of the grandchildren.

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[31] Manjit was trained as a teacher in her native India, but since being in Canada has worked as a cleaner. It is a source of regret for her but she has resigned herself to this since her children were born in Canada. She feels that after seventeen years Canada is more her home than India but this is because of the children.

Children embody hope for the future. They mean continuity, a life beyond our own. When a child comes into our lives we immediately try to envisage a future for them. People would stop having children if they did not hope for the future. Some people even go so far as to choose in which country they will give birth. I know of Australian and British people who have returned to their own country to have their children. This seems to be a statement of belief in the future, not only of their children, but also of their country.

Anecdotal theme: Children give us a new identity

Gillian felt that having a child in Canada was a significant turning point in her feeling of being at home in Canada: "After four years we had our first child. That was significant, that it was a child born in Canada and that it was growing up to be a Canadian kid. I hadn't had kids in Australia. I only began to take an interest in things to do with parenting when I was in Canada. So that's a very Canadian part of my life. I was doing things the way they're done here. My children wore 'diapers,' whereas if they'd been born in Australia they would have worn 'nappies!' I even got into the Canadian language of babies! When I took the kids home I was aware of them being Canadian kids. My family picked me up in my use of the word 'diapers' and some others that I can't remember now. So that's a very Canadian part of my experience and it's a very precious part of my experience. That made a huge difference. When I lived in Australia I was a daughter, that was my status. And here I'm a wife and a mother. This is where I'm a wife and mother. It's a different feeling for home."

Gillian's children have given her a sense of home in Canada in that her identity as a mother, part of the person who she is, is a Canadian identity. She belongs to Canada as a mother and a wife, so the country is the home of this aspect of her identity. The *I* that she became in Canada, the mothering *I*, has its home in Canada. So her second country is part of her being and becoming through the birth of her children. Moreover, the language she began to use also tied her experience of herself as a mother to the country. She used Canadian language for speak of things to do with children. In this way language and home are connected for Gillian. When she took her baby to Australia she seemed to her relatives to be apart from Australia when she spoke of "diapers." The language differentiated her from her first home and connected her to her second home.

Anecdotal theme: At home, one can look forward

"Now since last June, we feel that our life is not getting better, it's getting worse. Now we worry a lot. There will be a serious problem about jobs. In China we had a future, we had worked for a retirement pension, but not here. I think both of us feel if something happen in China it's much better to go back. We still feel maybe some day we can go back. For us we really think we're living in another country. If there is any chance, we will go back."

Guicing continues to assess her life in Canada in terms of the past in China. She does not consider a future in Canada so she cannot come to dwell here in the deep sense of the word.

> Dwelling is foremost an obedience to what is about to emerge. It is primordially an active, participant waiting near the source. Dwelling seeks to tend that which is about to emerge; it assists at birth, it cultivates. (Jager, 1985, p. 252)

Guicing is not waiting for an emerging source. Rather, she is looking the *wrong way* so to speak. She does not anticipate a response to whatever is a possibility.

Guicing's way of contemplating staying in Canada differs from others who, although they are waiting and cannot clearly see their future, nevertheless think in terms of waiting for some opportunity. As shown in Chapter Four, there are different modes of waiting and it seemed that for those such as Eva who is waiting expectantly, there is the possibility for becoming, for moving forward in the new country. In light of the above statement about dwelling as a way of waiting near the source, it seems that for Eva there is the possibility for carrying on the journey toward dwelling, whereas for Guicing, who only waits for a return journey to China, waiting for a possibility is impossible. Her sense of being remains in China.

Leszek spoke of his "investment" in his future. When we speak of investing we have hope for the future. We know there is risk, there is a movement away from absolute certainty, yet there is belief in the possibility of the future. "I have to think of daily needs but I think of my future too. I read ten or twelve hours every day, much of this is for my job but also I read papers and I have subscription for journals: *Time*, *National Geography* [sic]. I don't have much money but I can spend this couple of dollars for these journals because this is my investment. That all the time I have money I put into books, papers because I know that if I improve my English then I will not have problems find job in my occupation. This is my plan, I would like to study here and of course I will do this."

Leszek's words speak to the dialectic of home and horizon, being and becoming and an integration of past, present and future. His sense of being is grounded in the past, but he looks to the future. He conceives of the *here* of Canada as his horizon, as the place of the *I* of his becoming.

Irena's story also mentions the significance of looking toward the future and having a plan. "We want to stay here. It suits us. There's a good university for us and for the kids. The things we were looking for we have found here. The hardest part of moving to a new country is the decision. In Canada all the difficult things were behind us, we were very positive. We had a lot of plans. And we have done some of these plans and still some of the plans are in front of us." Once the decision has been made to leave the home country there has already been a break with the past and the present life; the future of the new country has been brought into the present.

In the stories where the people are looking positively to the future of their lives in Canada we see the evidence of *cultivation* which Heidegger (1971) pointed toward in his discussion of the meaning of dwelling. There is response to what is given, or offered, in the new place. Thus, the notion of dwelling involves a facet of *respons-ability*, being able to respond to what is emerging in one's life.

Inherent to the concept of *respons-ability* is the notion that something calls us. From the call of something outside ourselves comes the need or the desire to respond (Levinas, 1979). To feel "at home" consists in some sort of involvement in the "things" of this country.

Anecdotal theme: Home consists in a sense of involvement

Leszek said: "I've been here one year and I feel more and more a part of this place. When I see new construction downtown its nice for me because I know that after one or two years this will be something I can use, it is part of my city. And I like hockey. I spend many hours watching hockey games. We spend many energy screaming and yelling on our team. Sometime we watched other teams, like Boston or LA but it is more boring for us. It can be a good game but still we are not so involved about who wins because it is not our team. We live here and Edmonton Oilers is our team. We can be so nervous. I feel involved in this society here. When the team lost we are so mad we didn't want to do anything."

Leszek's appropriation of the Edmonton Oilers as "his" team is indicative of the way in which he has allowed himself to become involved in the society here, he has become implicated in the popular sport of the country, thus gaining a sense of something in common with the others of the country. His experience of place is beyond the confines of the building in which he lives. But one does not need to have a love of whatever happens to be the popular sport of the country in order to respond positively to the country.

The *response* to the new country can come about through finding a particular place that one likes. Irena and her husband, and George and Eva have found places they like to visit with their families. These places have acquired a certain significance for each family. They have come to mean a particular way of being together as a family. These people have responded to the call of the place:

> [A]n 'I-you' relationship with place, in which there is a genuine response to the meanings, symbols and qualities of a place and an

> attempt to identify with it, is more possible [than an 'I-Thou' relationship]. Indeed it is this relationship that must be encouraged if we are to begin to see and appreciate places for what they are, and not in terms of mass values, or technical and intellectual attitudes and conventions. (Relph, 1976, p. 78)

Irena said that if she was to return home she would miss the Rocky Mountains: "We just love going to the mountains. We spend as much time as we can as a family hiking in the mountains. They are somewhere special in our lives and they mean a big part of our life in Canada. They are very special and we would miss this very much if we left Canada."

It is in the way of being open to the world and its condition that the possibility of dwelling exists. Just as some people have appropriated a place for themselves in the forests or the mountains of Alberta, so too has the place appropriated them and they have become more implicated in the life and the future of the new country.

Anecdotal theme: The "prison" of the new country

But what sense of a future is possible if one feels "locked in?" Some would-be immigrants decide that they cannot stay. They cannot see the possibility of a future that is integrated with their past. Juan decided to go back to El Salvador, leaving in Canada his wife and daughter and facing in his own country the possibility of further imprisonment. However, he felt more "in prison" in the foreign country than he could feel being imprisoned in his own country. His wife, Patricia explained: "He said that being in prison there was difficult and everything but somehow he felt he was in prison here. That's how he felt. He couldn't be a complete person here. He felt he was an illiterate here and there he was a teacher and involved in political science, so he liked to talk. And here he couldn't have a meaningful conversation with someone because then I had to be in the middle interpreting for him. The things he could talk about in his basic English were things like the weather and trivial things so he felt that he was not a complete person here and it was going to take him for ever to learn enough English to be accepted or to do the things he wanted to do."

Being in prison means that one cannot get out and fulfill one's plans for life. It means being restrained, kept in. Through language, we open to the world and so it can be seen that without language as a possible means for outward orientation a personality can indeed be locked in. Learning the new language allows one to disengage oneself from the past life to the extent that the new can be encountered. But while without the language, a person may still be engaged with only the past world. There has to be a certain amount of letting-go of the previous life to allow for the possibilities of the new life to emerge. However, there should not be a total severance from the past. Instead, the memory of the previous home should inform the expectation of a new sense of *homeness* to emerge. The ground of the old life should be one source of understanding as to how to make a new life: "A journey cut off from its source degenerates into eternal departure" (Relph, 1976, p. 253). And the aim of the journey is to turn toward home again.

Anecdotal theme: Going back can result in a letting go

Marie[32] went home to Romania. And then she realized that in some ways home had gone: "I went back after several years and I know that you don't enter the same river twice but I found that I had lost the right to complain. In Romania I found that my eyes and my body had got used to the west; punctual buses and clean environment. Before, it was almost habitual that in Romania we all complained about the lines waiting for food and the broken elevators and the water stops flowing. But my friends didn't like it when I complained. I was already an outsider. For them I belonged here. In their eyes I lost the right to complain, I became a part of the myth of the rich, free west."

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[32] Marie cannot be sure whether she will be granted immigrant status, having come to Canada only to study. She therefore feels she cannot make the commitment to life in Canada, yet she is unsure about returning to Romania after four years. Ambitious career-wise, she likes the opportunities in Canada.

Marie's return to her first country left her feeling like she had moved, or had been moved, outside the community of home. Her friends resented her complaining about Romania. They did not include her in one of the common bonds. People from a particular country often get quite resentful if an outsider starts to complain about certain features of their country. We do not appreciate hearing from outsiders the very things we may indeed complain about ourselves. Since they are outsiders it is not for them to be included in the *community of complaint*. Australians tend to resent the negative attitude of the British people who come to Australia and then start to compare their own country more favourably. The people who complain or infer that things are better in Britain are called "whingeing poms." Unless you are inside the group you do not have the right to complain about that group or its place.

Marie's friends helped her to realize that certain aspects of home had gone in Romania. And Canada had taken on aspects of home. The ground for her vision of Romania had become the western vision since her "eyes and her body" had become accustomed to the western way of life. Through her return home she realized that there was no possibility to go back to the same place that she had left: "This home misses roots. But I feel that I can make my home here if I can contribute something of my work and it is genuinely needed. If I'm not needed then I go. But it's not ever like the first home. It's like when someone in the family dies, the person who is the cornerstone of the family dies and then nothing in the family is the same again. There are certain stages in your life that you never go back to. You simply have to accept that you can't keep things of the past the way they were. Romania will never look the same for me again. But if I can give something for this society I will stay."

Marie needs to see her possibility of becoming in Canada if she is to stay. Her notion of being able to contribute something through her work is how she sees the possibility of having an identity with which she can live in this country. And this is linked to the need for a future. If she has some kind of contribution to make to the society in the future then there is the possibility of home in Canada for Marie.

Anecdotal theme: Home is where we have a history

"I don't like it here in Canada, not anything at all," said Iza. "I don't like the way of life, the way they treat other people, the shops and the way of shopping. I think that it is highly immoral to build something like West Edmonton Mall. It's an incredible expression of conceit. And I miss history. In Europe, every five metres there is something that connects to the past. We have lots of beautiful old monuments and churches and many buildings in the street that are from a long time ago. And the art and books I miss because they are a big part of the life of my country. Now I realize what the country means to me. All the people who are there and care about the same thing and I talk to in the same language. People who I share all the misery of everyday life, people I drink with and laugh with and sing with in the same language. Here we feel that there is lack of something that helps you forget the stress of everyday life. Behind my nation there is a thousand years of culture. The people who lived there a thousand years ago are part of me. We have a real sense of history in Poland and the people of the past are important to us. For example, the day called 'All Saints Day' is very solemn. People take the trouble to go and visit cemetries, even half the country away, to go and visit the graves of grandparents or great aunts and the family meets to look after the graves and to go and remember the people from the past. The cemetries are crowded. But as a part of this custom you also visit the graves of the old kings and all the patriots and all the soldiers and all the people who took part in uprisings. This is history which created us."

Iza cannot come to terms with a country which has very little reverance for the past. She feels that in Poland she is connected to all the people of the past. The lives of past Polish people is significant to the life of the people today. The past is in some way alive in the streets, the churches, the monuments, art and literature of the country. It is through these things that Iza feels a connection to a community. But neither can she live in a place where she has no personal history. Not only in a communal way, but also in a personal way she lacks her history. The ties of communication and everyday life problems which bind people together in a country have no personal meaning for Iza in Canada. It seems as though she feels disconnected from her past and is unable to foresee the possibility of being implicated in the past of Canada at some time in the future. Establishing one's own sense of a past in a particular country may be a significant aspect in coming to feel at home in another country.

Gillian feels that the length of time she has lived in Canada allows her to now feel more like she belongs: "Because I've been here so long I have a lot of history here now. In fact, I have so much history here now that the fear I have is that I've forgotten my Australian history. But I've got the family to connect to there so I belong in both places. I have a connection to both places. I think I would choose to stay here even if anything happened to my husband. I have a life here now. You just make it where you are and then it sort of takes on a life of its own. I used to feel that I was learning a lot about Canada but I didn't feel like I could claim that as my own. I listened to all the current events so that I knew about them but for a long time they didn't seem to really involve me. But now I feel that I can talk about them and feel that in some funny way they are part of my past life. I think I'm beginning to feel like I'm entitled to claim my history here just as I can claim my history in Australia. You know, it's interesting talking to you because I think that I must have just moved into a new space without even noticing it. I've been here for a long time now and it's beginning to count for something. All the sociology I know is Canadian. A lot of important things in my life have happened to me here."

In a way that seems to be parallel to Leszek's feeling of being implicated in the future of Canada, Gillian has a sense of being implicated in the past of Canada. Her feeling of having a history here is not just on the level of a personal history, however. She also feels implicated in the national sense because she has been with the country through a lot of events which she is able to remember and talk about. She has a national sense of belonging as well as a personal sense. The sense of *here* for both Gillian and Leszek extends beyond the walls of their living space to the Canadian world outside.

Anecdotal theme: The past of home stays with us

George said that he feels quite content at the thought of staying in Canada and being able to make his home here. Canada offers him what he did not have in Poland, a secure future. However, this is not to say that he has decided to sever the past. Rather, there is the intention of maintaining certain aspects of home within his own home: "I think that eighty percent of this life in Canada is like my dream. I have a nice house and I have a good job and I can buy the food that I want. It is peaceful and quiet. Only twenty percent is not. I didn't expect the language to be so difficult. I know now that it will take me maybe three years to feel confident in the language at work, especially the writing that I have to do. And there are some things about mentality that we can't change or it will be difficult. For instance, we collect all the plastic containers and glass jars from margarine and coffee. Because I am always thinking that one day I can use them. This is typical Polish to keep things in this way. Because things were not so easy to get. I know that I can get another container the next time I buy margarine but still it is difficult for me to throw it out. We won't become Canadian because there are some things that will always be different. We are Polish and we will always be Polish and this is good. I don't have to cut my past. The language, we will always speak Polish in our home and our children must keep their Polish because they have to speak to their grandparents and maybe one day they will go back to Poland to see their country of origin."

George does not intend to become Canadian. Instead, he realizes that he must maintain certain aspects of his life history and that these can be successfully integrated with his more public life of the work place.

The fact that George had a dream to come to Canada is significant. There can be an important difference between the future settlement possibilities of those who journeyed *to* in contrast to those who journeyed *from* (Seamon, 1985). People who journey *from* are doing so to leave something behind, some aspect of their life that has become intolerable. They are therefore less inclined to have a vision of the future than those who journey *to* such a vision. Those who journey *to* rather than *from* interpret the new place more in terms of the future than the past.

Anecdotal theme: The new country lacks tradition

"There's a lot of tradition which we still live inside ourselves," said Hilda and Manfred[33]. "We call ourselves Bavarian, not German. The Bavarian tradition is very strong and vivid from anything you do, there's always an explanation in tradition for everything you do. Times when it really comes out is religious holidays - Christmas, Easter, Thanksgiving. Those times we find we withdraw from the Canadian crowd a bit more and go our own way and practise traditional ways. There was something to life that was not just the everyday things that you do, there was a reason for doing things. Any kind of gathering, some social get-together people come in their traditional clothes. Other people laugh about it but for us there's meaning in the clothes. At church when we go in traditional clothes, then it's a special sort of service. A person who just wears jeans doesn't quite fit. The tradition seems to give it a special flavour. That is lacking here. We go to church here too and to German church but it's not the same. One part is missing that makes me feel home, this is where I belong. That is what I've never had here in Canada. What I miss about Germany is just the tradition and the meaning to life."

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[33] Manfred and Hilda will return to Germany after seven years in Canada. They achieved their goal which was to make money in business and now they feel that must return to a sense of roots and tradition in order to be happy in their old age.

The story of Hilda and Manfred illustrates the experience of being unable to intergrate the past successfully. Moreover, their story also indicates that since they journeyed *from* rather than *to*, they tend to interpret their life in Canada in terms of the past life in Germany. They moved to Canada from Germany seven years ago and are now seriously looking into the possibility of returning to their homeland. They feel that they do not have the "ground of tradition" on which to stand and make meaning of life in Canada. They miss the traditional focus for life which they feel is integral to the Bavarian style of life.

Perhaps there is a lack of depth and focus to modern life. (Cf. Taylor, 1988; Van den Berg, 1974; Lyotard, 1984; Berger, Berger and Kellner, 1973). It seems that much of modern day life continues without a tradition and with an ever-increasing tendency towards sameness around the world. Another thing mentioned by Hilda and Manfred is the lack of differentiation in North American society: "You have to get on a plane and fly out of this country to find anything different. In Bavaria you just have to drive ten minutes and you will find some different people with different style of life and even different dialect. We find it quite boring here because everything is so the same."

The tendency for sameness in the modern world has been attributed to consumerism and a commodity-minded approach to life:

> Again and again, in a host of different ways, the claim has been made that an instrumental society, one in which, say, a utilitarian value outlook is entrenched in the institutions of a commercial, capitalist, and finally a bureaucratic mode of existence, tends to empty life of its richness, depth, or meaning. (Taylor, 1988, p. 500)

Hilda and Manfred came to Canada for instrumental reasons. They did not so much choose Canada as choose to leave Germany for business purposes. Now that the business part of their life is complete they feel they must return to Germany to find again the depth of meaning in life which they feel is rooted in tradition.

Liane said that although she is aware of missing the traditional way of life of Bavaria, and although she feels that her roots are there in a way that they could never be in Canada, she could continue to live in Canada. "I think I would always consider Canada as somewhere which fulfills the purpose of the moment, not home like Germany. And I think I could go on like that indefinitely but my roots will always stay in Bavaria. I can live without it but without a certain sort of focus."

Her words show the experience of living life with a type of instrumental mind-set. It is possible to approach life as fulfilling the "purpose of the moment" but this is not the grounded type of life which can be possible if we choose it.

For Fong, Canada is now his home and he looks to the future here quite confidently. "I'd say I'm settled here. I'm used to the climate and the people. I like it here. I never consider to move anywhere else except (unless) I don't have a job."

Fong feels himself moving more and more away from the traditions of Vietnamese and Chinese people. "The way I see things, the more I get to know Canadian people the more I learn. But then the more I learn from Canadians the more I feel further away from my own kind, because sometimes when I get back to my own kind I feel I am different. Or at least started to be different. Which is a little bit sad that it happen this way. The way I see things now is different from the way they see things. For example, one thing is relationship, men/women relationships. The way they see things is different. The man or woman has only one boyfriend/girlfriend and that's it. And then they get to know each other and they get close and eventually they will get married and have a family. That's the traditional way of thinking. But to me, no, I don't think so. I think I can have lots of female friends and we still be close and get to know each other well but we don't have to get married. So that sometimes make me feel out of place in a conversation."

Fong thinks about his future in Canada, not anticipating returning to live in either Vietnam or China. "I have a nice apartment and a secure job and I have nothing to worry about and plenty of friends. When I think about the future I think about buying a house, have a family, wife, children, have a secure job."

It seems that Fong is losing touch with the tradition of his first lifestyle and consequently losing the capacity for genuine conversation and understanding of his people. It seems that he is breaking with the past more than integrating it with his present lifestyle. There is a resulting loss to himself in this. Zhou also spoke of trying to "make himself change." However,

> [d]iscontents derived from the pluralization of social life-worlds ...can be subsumed under the heading of "homelessness." The pluralistic structures of modern society have made the life of more and more individuals migratory, ever-changing, mobile. In everyday life the modern individual continuously alternates between highly discrepant and often contradictory social contexts. In terms of his biography, the individual migrates through a succession of widely divergent social worlds. Not only are an increasing number of individuals in a modern society uprooted from their original social milieu, but, in addition, no succeeding milieu succeeds in becoming truly "home" either. Modern identity is peculiarly open, differentiated and individuated. There is no ground for certainty. (Berger, Berger & Kellner, 1973, p. 184)

Building the bridge

Rather than try to sever the past, there may be more possibility in finding a way to link both countries into a meaningful integration. One can retain the ground of vision that is part of one's past, yet foster a sense of vision for the future. Gillian has been able to do this: "When I last went back to Australia I discovered the Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific Movement. And I came to realize the importance of the Pacific. It was a peace issue that I came to discover in Australia, but it also has importance to Canada because Canada has a Pacific coast. And I came to feel that there was a bridge and that I could cross it back and forth and that I was equally at home in either place. And that was a real gift. That was a real change. And that has stayed with me, that I do belong here. And I'm more consciously Australian now than I was before. We make a point of watching Australian documentaries on account of the kids. And my sister sends me contemporary Australian fiction. I have a great big picture of the Perth skyline on my wall. I think I'm now allowing myself to be more Australian here now maybe because I don't feel like I have anything to prove, I don't have to set that aside anymore. And I also don't want to bury it from the kids. I try and integrate things that are Australian in family rituals. We always have pavlova for dessert for Christmas dinner, that sort of thing. We always mark Australia Day. And my family has been great. They send books, sweatshirts, they remind the kids a lot that they have an Australian background and family too. And the kids are really thrilled about this. They feel that they are half Australian and I've reinforced that too. I'm an Australian citizen still and I wouldn't ever become a Canadian citizen. So as long as I'm an Australian citizen the kids can have dual citizenship but the moment I'm not that takes away their entitlement. So it has always felt like a gift that I can give them, that they can have Australian passports and Canadian. It's the ultimate statement of the anomaly, that I will stay an Australian citizen. To give up the citizenship would be to burn that bridge. As long as I'm an Australian citizen and a landed immigrant here I still have the bridge. But I think I'll stay."

Gillian found that there can be a common sphere in the world of the two countries. Something that is significant to her, being able to contribute to the work of a peace movement, is as valid to the life of Canada as it is to the life of Australia and so she experiences the integration of both countries.

Gillian's integration of past, present and future includes her personal identity as well as an identity on a national level. Now that she feels more like she belongs in Canada, she can assert her Australian identity more than she did previously, especially at the level of her family life. She no longer feels that she has to set aside one identity in order to appropriate another. She is regaining the balance. Her Australian-ness is more visible because her Canadian-ness is more solid.

Gillian's experience seems to be somewhat similar to that of Fong. Yet it is also quite different. Fong continues to move away from his Vietnamese/ Chinese origins; Gillian is moving back toward her Australian origins. Although they have moved from opposite starting points and continue to move in opposite directions, they have both moved towards establishing home. Fong established his identity as Chinese, the *away* country, before he moved toward establishing himself as Canadian. Gillian, on the other hand, established her identity as Canadian, the *here* country, before she re-asserted her identity as Australian. The experience of making oneself at home nevertheless seems to consist in integration.

Anecdotal theme: The second home becomes the first home

Jutta and Fritz now call Australia home: "When we go to Germany now it's good, it's nice to see everybody, but we are really glad to be back here. Because over there now the only thing we have in common is the language. But the attitude of the people and the way they have developed, it is different. And the language has developed too. After being here thirty years, the language in Germany has changed. We have picked up every time we have gone back there something new in the language. Now they hear English in our German! You tend to feel like a foreigner in your own country. Not only the language, but the attitude and the way people think, the way they behave. We feel like we are at home when we come back here and we don't feel at home in Germany. After the last trip we came back and said there is no point in going back again. Even the relatives, the cousins, they're just people we know. You don't have the feeling as if you're related. Last time we went over I felt that we don't have that same closeness as if you're related. There's no point now in thinking of going back and picking up what you left behind. I'm quite satisfied not to go back at all ever. We've made the transmission [sic] from being Germans to Australians. I feel this is my home here and I feel part of the country."

The experience of Jutta and Fritz raises the question of being able to feel equally at home in two countries. In saying that they find they differ in attitude and behaviour from the ways of their German friends and relations, Fritz and Jutta indicate that the ground for their vision of the world has become an Australian ground. They have moved into a new way of conceiving the things of the world, thus they feel that they are not at home in their first country. The "home" of their vision is now their second country and so it "fits" much better. And it is Australia that "nurtures" them in their day to day life. For them, the second country has replaced the first in its homeness. But not so in the language. They find they sound different from the native speakers in Germany and they have not grown with the language. Jutta said that when she is writing letters in German she sometimes wonders about the words she uses, thinking that the phrases may sound old-fashioned and that there is probably another way to say things now. Yet, they both still feel that they are better able to express themselves in German than in English. So, for them, neither language really completely "fits." They have an accent in both languages. And growing more into their second language has resulted in growing away from their first language.

Language is not static. It has a life of its own in that it moves on. It is through sharing language that we are intimate with its vernacular aspect, but Jutta and Fritz have been absent from the sharing of language's movement. The mother language is a language of sharing:

> Each of us is born into a concrete language of our mother tongue. This mother language with which we are at home is the language belonging to a community - a language of sharing, a language of familiarity, a vernacular language of daily conversation, a language with a profound respect of the other as self. (Aoki, 1987, p, 41)

In the experience of language for Jutta and Fritz there seems to be something akin to homelessness. In having been uprooted from the original milieu of the first language, but without groundedness in the second language, they have "no ground for certainty" (Berger, Berger and Kellner, 1973, p. 184). The second language has become the language of their becoming, their integration of their identities. Who they are and where they are going is fulfilled in their second country and their second language. And although they said that they may still find it easier to express some things in German, the homeness of their German language is only something they experience while speaking German in Australia. In Germany they experience the feeling of sounding different and not knowing certain aspects of the way in which the language has developed. Their intimacy with the German language has dissipated, yet a complete intimacy with English has not replaced the loss. It seems to be a situation where they may "belong to two worlds at once and yet not belong to either completely" (Aoki, 1987, p. 45).

Yet this is not necessarily a negative position in which to live. It allows for a deeper perspective of both worlds. It allows one to "leave" home and return with a new way of seeing. The possibilities of immigration, of leaving home and making a new home may embrace the positive life experiences of the dialectic between the mother tongue and the second language, home and horizon, inside and outside, and journey and rest. And from within the context of these dialectics is the dialectic between self and the dialectic of one's first and second language. It is a special mode of being. One that may enrich and enhance one's lived meaning of home as one uses the ground of the first home to project the becoming of the second home.

Theme one: Being at home has a past, present and future.

Feeling at home includes having a sense of identity and future in a particular place. The anecdotal themes disclose the significance of "children and the future" and "children give us a new identity." The anecdotes also showed that "at home one can look forward" and "be involved", whereas if one feels locked in as a person there is a sense of the "prison of the new country." Further, going back to the home country can result in "letting go" of its claim to one's future when one realizes that one has moved away from home in the sense of having a hope for the future in the second country. "Home is where we have a history," and this "past stays with us"; it is embodied. "The new country lacks tradition" and in order to become at home in the second country there should be a way to link, to "build bridges" of meaning betweeen the two countries and their lived significance. It is possible over a length of time for the "second home to become more like the first" in that it becomes the ground for one's vision, it is where one now does have a past, and it is where a future can be envisioned. *Being at home means the integration of past, present and future.*

The pedagogy of ESL should be oriented to the personal becoming of each student. It is not enough to be concerned with syllabuses and methodologies since being focussed only on these matters means we may forget *who* we teach. If the ESL teacher is conceived of as one who imparts a language code, then it is possible to conceive of such teachers being replaced by computer assisted learning. The teacher of ESL, however, needs to be aware of more than the latest syllabus or methodology. To be able to act pedagogically involves knowing and understanding in an interactive manner. Pedagogic understanding is always concerned with unique and particular circumstances. It is "a practical hermeneutics of a person's being and becoming" (Van Manen, 1991, p. 82).

ESL pedagogy should not be conceived of as a training ground for the acquisition of new language skills. Indeed, it may be much more if it is conceived of as an aspect of the education of newcomers. Education does not mean the giving of information. Education is attentive to the *becoming* of the individual:

> An alternative to training is an educational approach which, true to the foundations of the word "education," which originally meant "the process of drawing forth," begins with real people and the experiences they have had to that date. Education enables participants to name their experience in the new language. (Sauve, 1989, p. 124)

The very being of a person is revealed through language. Second language learners, if they are to come to feel at home with themselves in the new country, must come to know a way to express *themselves* through language. This means being able to speak about their own experiences.

Second language teaching should recognize the depth of language, the way in which we as humans embody our language world and the way our language world envelops us. Pedagogical understanding in the second language context entails understanding the special mode of being which is being an immigrant learning a second language. It recognizes the significance of being and becoming at home, at home in a new world and a new language-world.

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1. These are words from a song which speaks of the Irish immigration to North America.

CHAPTER EIGHT

A FURTHER LOOK AT "NEEDS."

In this study an attempt has been made to disclose the lived meaning of being at home, and to show that language is one way through which we know home and can feel at home. The intention has not been to imply that ESL methodologies and syllabuses are redundant, but to show that there is a more fundamental or a more thoughtful way of considering language and the needs of immigrants who must learn a new language in a new country. There are indeed various aspects of language needs for immigrants, such as the need to know how to make requests, apologize, greet people and give personal information. Many of these have been addressed through the varying syllabuses and methodologies. (cf. Chapter Two of this study.) However, what I hope has been disclosed through this study is that our way of being with language is more pervasive than is acknowledged by a consideration of language functions and skills. Language consists in a way of being at home, and being at home consists in a way of being with language. Should teaching a language incorporate an understanding of our "languagely" way of being at home? What is to be made of these reflections of the meaning of home to the human condition? What is the significance to the domain of second language teaching?

In this regard, I look upon pedagogy "not so much as a certain kind of relationship or a particular kind of doing, but rather pedagogy is something that lets an encounter, a relationship, a situation, or a doing be pedagogic" (Van Manen, 1982, p. 285). Pedagogy is a relationship wherein one acts from an embodied way of knowing. The pedagogical relationship is one where a person is drawn to the other as to someone who requires one's help to become all that he or she can become. Thus, it is not an indifferent relation. Part of what makes an educator a pedagogue is the capacity to "see" the life of the other. Yet, to perceive the call of the other is not enough. It is through the *practice* of acting in a pedagogical way that teachers may help fulfil the lives of the students. The way of acting pedagogically is embedded in a pedagogical way of knowing and understanding. And knowing the way to act stems from a pedagogical intent.

Is there a pedagogy of homeness?

The question of the possibility of a pedagogy of homeness is ultimately a question about the possibility of restructuring our way of thinking about ESL teaching. It is concerned with transforming our perception of ESL teaching beyond the limits of instrumentality and toward a pedagogically inspired orientation. It is a question of pedagogical intent, pedagogical understanding and pedagogical responsibility.

Being at home is an embodied way of being. Home seems to be just as much in us as we are in it. So what is the relationship between pedagogical intent and being at home?

Pedagogical intent and being at home

Having a pedagogical intent is more than having a teaching intent. Teachers of ESL do, of course, intend to teach English. But pedagogical intent tries to gain a grasp of the whole being or "person and world" rather than merely focus on limited instructional objectives and fragmented skills. Pedagogical intent means that as an adult educator, one is interested in each unique person's "possibility for being and becoming" (Van Manen, 1991, p. 15).

To have a pedagogical intent which is oriented to the "becoming at home" of the immigrants we teach, means to be alert to the importance of a sense of identity and a sense of future in the new country. Teachers should see past their role as mere instructors of English toward what it means to be a real educator, oriented to how each person's identity can be fostered and realized in the new country and the new language. So to have a pedagogical intent for one's students would mean that there is a different way of understanding one's task as an adult educator.

Pedagogical understanding and being at home.

As ESL teachers it would seem to be extremely important to have some understanding of what life is like as an immigrant and as a language learner. Yet it would be absurd to require that ESL teachers have experience in immigration. So what kind of understanding would be essential for ESL teachers and how might this understanding be achieved?

> Pedagogical understanding is not a simple skill. Rather, the structure of pedagogical understanding is complex, containing reflective as well as interactive elements... It depends on [teachers'] willingness to "really" listen and on the kind of thoughtfulness of which they are capable. (Van Manen, 1991, p. 81)

So pedagogical understanding is contextual. It is applied understanding, relevant to particular circumstances and particular people.

In the context of immigration, it would seem that pedagogical understanding would encompass an understanding of the deeper meaning of language and home. It would also be attentive to the question as to why immigrants are in a new country. In many cases there has not been much alternative for the people who left their home country - circumstances have forced a decision which they may otherwise not have made.

But pedagogical understanding must go beyond the general to the particular. For instance, it may mean understanding when someone is hurting badly because of homesickness. (cf. Chapter Six.) And pedagogical understanding would imply knowing the person well enough to know how to act *for* that person. This may require a reflection on whether it is best to speak to the person or let them be alone. There are times when pedagogical understanding would stem from reflection on a situation, and there are times when the understanding is an embodied way of responding to a situation as it occurs. But in either case it is understanding that is a response; a response to a particular person or situation.

Pedagogical responsiblity and being at home

Being pedagogically responsible means more than being responsible about carrying out one's mandated duties in the classroom and being conscientious about marking homework. Rather, pedagogical responsibility comes about as a *response-ability*. It requires that one overcomes the centeredness of self in the world in order to see the subjectivity of the other. And it is in the experience of the vulnerability of the other that it is possible to overcome the centeredness of self.

Being an immigrant is a particularly vulnerable experience. This study has shown the experience of vulnerability as expressed through feeling like one has become a child again (cf. Chapter Four, anecdotal theme, *Starting over*), or feeling like one has lost one's identity (cf. Chapter Three, anecdotal theme, *Leaving home can mean seeing oneself in a new way*), or that one cannot find one's own way (cf. Chapter Five, anecdotal theme, *Continuing the journey*), or express oneself adequately (cf. Chapter Three, *Home is in the way we speak* and Chapter Five, *At home conversation can be the intimate expression of self*). Being responsible in a pedagogical manner for the immigrants learning a second language means that we are alert to *their* experience. We respond to their call. It means that we see the task of learning English as a way toward becoming at home.

This study has attempted to show another dimension of the experience of being an immigrant language learner. The study has focussed on the need for a feeling of home as being an aspect of the human condition. It is one of the needs of the people learning English as a second language. Since language is so much a part of our feeling of being at home, the homeness of language and the language of home become a pedagogical context for any considerations of methodolgy and curriculum planning.

Keeping the question open

The conversations have opened ways to explore what it means to become at home. Of course, no person's life is exactly like another's. The themes that emerged from individual life experiences were developed in a dialogical way so as to explore the meaning for other immigrants as well. As I entered into a relationship with the text of the stories, the literature about home, other phenomenological literature and my own experience, the content of the understanding of the experience of home-leaving and home-making became broader than the incidental events individual lives. Yet, it is the individual experience that makes it possible to see the importance of the broader issues.

The intention has been to search for the meaning of the immigration experience in such a way that acknowledges the significance of the private difficulties for the public education. I hope I have been able to reveal the underlying complexity of human life in our present society, a complexity that is too often glossed over in our rush to fulfil our other material and technical "needs."

Yet as I write this final chapter on the meaning of home, I sense that the essential meaning of home may still be hidden. The text has revealed many dimensions of what it means to be at home, but more may have eluded the present question. There is a close relationship between question and understanding, between showing and hiding and this is an essential dimension of the hermeneutic experience (Gadamer, 1989). So the question remains open. What is the pedagogical significance of home? To what extent are we at home or homeless in our present society? Do immigrants in fact have a clearer understanding of home than those who have never left home? Can we truly know home unless we first leave it? Can we incorporate our pedagogical understandings of the significance of the relation between home and language [illegible] our pedagogical practice?

AFTERWORD

I feel deeply privileged to have had the opportunity of listening to the stories of the people I met through the research activities of this study. Their life experiences taught me so much about my life. Their speaking of home showed me more of my home. Sometimes I was over-awed in the face of the tremendous courage required to leave behind loved ones and face an uncertain future and a journey fraught with danger. Other times I had to fight back tears as I heard about the agony of leaving behind one's children as a kind of insurance for the government of the country. Often we laughed together as we related a faux-pas in which one or other of us had been implicated.

But many times, in reflecting on people's stories I was left feeling uncomfortable. Uncomfortable and deeply saddened that some people had to endure persecution, lack of food, harassment. In remembering their lives I am forced to remember that there are many others who have not managed to escape their country.

More than this I am left with a feeling of slight uneasiness. Uneasiness about the comfort of being "western" and speaking English. I am left to wonder if the "British Empire" has yet disintegrated. Or is it living in another body now? Perhaps a larger body, one which is ruled by a different "head of state" and has far-reaching limbs.

I do not have to leave home to lead a harassment-free life. Neither do I have to leave home to secure a pleasant and safe life for the children I may have. I thought about this frequently during and after hearing some of the incredibly saddening stories.

However, it was two "small" comments that really concretized my discomfort. I was talking to Maciek about my thoughts of travelling to Germany: "But you have to be careful," he said, "to try to get the visa in plenty of time. And will they let you back into Canada?" I was taken aback. "I don't need a visa with an Australian passport. And why should I have trouble getting back into Canada?" Why indeed? I have an Australian passport.

The second comment arose during the same conversation. As I was talking about trying to learn German, Maciek said, "I don't think you need to worry about that. You're lucky, you speak English and most people there speak English." I speak English and I can expect everyone else to also do so. Am I implicated in a system which continues to subjugate and subordinate other countries?

I left home to come to Canada to pursue doctoral studies. But in many ways I left home over and over again as I was involved with the many people I met. I left home as I opened to my partners in conversation. I left the "home" of my ground of vision; the "home" of the way I speak and the way things speak to me. I have been on a long journey and there are now people and places that are part of me and that I will surely miss. But I am going home soon, to a home that I will see with fresh eyes and know more intimately through having been away. I have to go home to my future at home.

It is significant that the home of which I speak is actually my second home. It is now the place to which I feel "fitted." It is the ground of my vision. It has taken a number of years for me to feel at home in Australia, nevertheless I now do. I have spent a significant enough time there for it to be a part of the history of my identity. Although there are still occasions, particularly when my peer group speak of some common elements of their childhood times in Australia, that I am reminded that I am not implicated in this same past. Nevertheless, it is more "home" than anywhere else.

And several people spoken to in this study have a conviction and commitment toward the idea of home in Canada. .

Marie went back to Romania and found that in certain ways she had lost her sense of home in that country. She came back to Canada and feels that her second country is now the country where she feels more at home. Some people find on their return to the original country that the sense of the "home country" with which they have lived in the second country is no longer valid. They return to their second country more convinced of where they can be at home. They become more committed to their new home. British immigrants to Australia have been known to return to Britain for a few years before they decide that Australia had indeed been a better possibility for them and they then go back to Australia to really settle down. The Dutch language has a word for these people: *spijtoptanten*, meaning "people with regret." In some ways they are people with a double regret. They have regretted leaving the first country and then the second country. But it is through the return and the "seeing" of the meaning of home that they can perhaps then know better where home can be.

Huy, Fong and Patricia feel more at peace in Canada than they did in their native countries where they were subjected to political persecution. Canada is a country where they can experience more "rest" than they could while living in the countries of their birth. Being able to rest is an important dimension of home (see anecdotal theme, "Home is where you can find rest"), thus Canada in a sense has a more home-like quality than "home" itself.

George, Leszek and Irene see the possibility of a bright future for themselves and their children in Canada. It is a way of seeing the future that holds more hope than they experienced in their homeland. In the sense of looking to the future Canada is more of a home to them than Poland.

It seems that body, space and language are inter-related. In a manner similar to the way in which our bodies incorporate space - we come to know a new house "through" our bodies just as well as we knew the previous house - our bodies incorporate language. The strange sounds of the language - the different rhythm, accent or words - disappear into the everyday taken-for-granted mode of being which is being at home. Just as we know the "feel" of a room through our bodies, so too can we come to know the "feel" of a language. And in the experiential sense, not feeling different and not being aware of *dis-ease* is a feeling of being at ease, of comfort. The possibility of overcoming one's *dis-ease* is the possibility of the experience of feeling part of the real world again, integrated and feeling *able* rather than *unable*.

In the attentive waiting for the future of the new country there is the possibility of coming to know the country as home. Home is where we are nurtured, where we are nourished into becoming. To dwell, to be at home, is a way of being that allows nourishment to take place, it is a way of being that allows self and world to inhabit each other. In thinking about dwelling, nurturing, and inhabitation I think of Jesus' metaphor of the vine:

> Abide in me and I in you. As the branch cannot bear fruit of itself unless it abides in the vine, neither can you unless you abide in

me. (The Gospel according to John, 15:4)

It seems that to be at home in world and language is a way of being that allows for such "abiding."

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